



Daily Report—

Sub-Saharan Africa

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23 November 1990

Daily Report

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Reportage of the Ninth PTA Summit in Mbabane

Mwinyi, Ethiopian V.P. Arrive

*MB2111212090 Mbabane Television Service
in English 1800 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[Excerpts] Tanzanian President Mr. Ali Hassan Mwinyi, who is in the country, made history this morning when he became the first head of state to jet into the country. Mr. Mwinyi is here to attend the ninth summit of the Preferential Trade Area [PTA], which is to be held in the country from the 23rd to the 24th of this month. Mr. Mwinyi was welcomed at the airport by his majesty, King Mswati III. [passage omitted]

The vice president of the Republic of Ethiopia is also in the country. At the airport to meet him was the prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, and the minister for foreign affairs, Sir George Mamba. The Ethiopian vice president was met on arrival at Matsapha Airport by his excellency, the prime minister, Mr. Obed Dlamini, and the minister for foreign affairs, Sir George Mamba.

The Ethiopian vice president inspected a guard of honor mounted by members of the Umbuthfo Swaziland Defense Force, and was entertained by, among others, local sibhaca dancers.

Kaunda 'Disappointed' With SA

*MB2211213090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2100 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[By Ken Daniels]

[Text] Mbabane Nov 22 SAPA—Frontline States Chairman and Zambian President Dr. Kenneth Kaunda said on Thursday he was "extremely disappointed" at recent events in South Africa and said he hoped President F.W. de Klerk had not departed from the path on which he had steered the country.

Dr. Kaunda, who was in Mbabane for a Preferential Trade Area (PTA) summit, was speaking soon after a briefing he and other Frontline State leaders held with ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Nelson Mandela and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] Vice President Mlanli Makwetu.

He said the "distinguished freedom fighters" had painted an extremely depressing picture of the situation in SA.

"It is obvious from what they have said, that the man we have been praising (De Klerk) is under very great pressure, especially from the lunatic fringe on the right. Although we thought very highly of him and were impressed by his honesty and sincerity, the freedom fighters in whom we have great confidence make us worry a great deal. I find it difficult to believe this is the same man (De Klerk) I met in Zambia," said Dr. Kaunda.

He said that it appeared that "faceless men" were going on the rampage and destroying life and property in South Africa. Referring to township violence he said although Mr. Mandela had warned senior policemen that attacks were imminent, they had done nothing about it.

Asked whether the Frontline States would continue to put pressure on SA, he said "gentle pressure" would be maintained, even though they believed that F.W. de Klerk could still do a great deal to bring people in southern Africa together.

He said the negotiation process in SA had gone well until the "mass killings" which had led to his disappointment in the SA president.

The leaders of the Frontline States, including Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, Namibian President Sam Nujoma and President dos Santos of Angola, Thursday held a meeting on the eve of the PTA summit, due to start here on Friday [23 Nov]. The summit will be opened by the current chairman President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya.

Call for Single Airline

*MB2211172090 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[Text] The acting Zambian minister of transport, General Kingsley Chinkuli, has appealed to states belonging to the South African Development Coordination Conference and the Preferential Trade Area of Southern and East African states to consider forming one airline to reduce expenditure.

Speaking in Lusaka after the signing of an air service agreement between Namibia and Zambia, Gen. Chinkuli said the establishment of one airline would enable member states of the two organizations to form closer air links. It has also been announced in Lusaka that Zambia and Namibia are to sign a trade agreement soon.

*** EPZ Fair; Support for SA Membership Noted**

*9IAF0199A Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French
20 Oct 90 p 3*

[Article by Patrick Michel: "East Africa in Two Hours; South Africa: An Asset for the EPZ (Exporting Processing Zone); The Other Face of Ethiopia and Tanzania"; italicized passages published in English]

[Text] The third EPZ [Export Processing Zone] regional fair in Forest Side confirms a marked change in the attitude of African countries toward South Africa. The representatives of EPZ members were unanimous in acknowledging that South Africa's presence in the EPZ will be an asset for the region.

At any rate, in a spot interview, the Zimbabwean minister of industry and commerce, Mr. K.M. Kangai, confirmed the African reasoning.

"I see no other choice for South Africa but to join the EPZ. We, as members of this organization, have nothing to fear from the presence of this economic power in our ranks."

"South Africa's joining the EPZ will reinforce regional structures. We should not forget that 1992 will mark the advent of the Single Market in Europe."

"With this major development in the world, we should expect trade to take place between blocs rather than between countries. The EPZ, with South Africa's presence, will have more leverage to face these new economic blocs in the world."

The reasoning formulated by the Zimbabwean minister of industry makes sense in the context of the new geopolitics of the Indian Ocean and southern Africa.

The manager of the Malawian booth was also reassuring as far as South Africa's presence in the EPZ is concerned.

"I do not think that EPZ members should fear the presence of South Africa in the organization. Instead, it will consolidate the organization. That should not make us fear," he gave L'EXPRESS to understand.

While the booth of Mauritius, which organized the fair, received the prize for best booth, we must recognize that the Zimbabwean booth was by far the best stocked. All those who know southern Africa, from the Mauritian businessman to the politician, acknowledged that Zimbabwe is the country with the most potentialities in the region.

Although the Zimbabwean booth was not as well stocked as at the previous fair in Zambia, not one square centimeter was left empty. A quick visit to the booth will show you that Zimbabwe produces a range of extremely interesting articles. Foodstuffs have no secrets for this country. And there is wine, too.

That is not all. Tomorrow, if you want to, you might be able to buy household appliances, especially refrigerators and kitchen ranges, from Zimbabwe. Precision tools and heavy machinery are also given pride of place at the Zimbabwe booth.

On the other hand, no one will say that Ethiopia is where the shoe pinches. First, it got the second prize in the best booth competition of the third EPZ fair. But that is not all.

Simply, every visitor at the Ethiopian booth is welcomed at the entrance by a huge shoe. What is puzzling when you visit the fair section reserved for Ethiopia, is that the picture you get has little to do with the war and famine shown by the international media.

This is not to question the fact that the country's situation is unstable. But quite simply, the booth gives you an idea of the agricultural potential of this African country. A huge bunch of citrus fruits welcomes you right in the middle of the booth.

Being prejudiced, you do not believe what you see: "*Are these fruits from Ethiopia?*" And the Ethiopian representative answers straight back: "*We do not export these fruits to Europe.*"

For the people of this country, the Ethiopian booths at the third EPZ fair is a veritable dream. Mauritians already know the high quality of Ethiopian lentils. They will be all the more surprised to learn that this African country is world famous for the leather goods it produces. "*We have reached European standards in leather. Every EPZ country acknowledges this fact,*" the Ethiopian delegate answered.

Ethiopia is not content with its reputation in the leather sector. It has specialized in tools, in particular through huge investments in a large-scale foundry and forge. It would like to achieve another breakthrough in Africa for tools "*Made in Ethiopia*".

As for Namibia, which recently became independent, this is the first time it took part in a EPZ fair. It already got some practice on two occasions in Botswana. At the Forest Side regional fair, Namibia is embarking on a large venture.

"Namibia, the gem of Africa" is the slogan that welcomes visitors to its booth, opposite the Mauritian booth. Namibia can afford the luxury of such a slogan, considering the diamond reserves it possesses. But instead of genuine diamonds, the Namibian booth managers offer more down-to-earth products that Africans can afford.

"We expect to establish exports from Namibia to other countries. We do export a lot to South Africa. But we want to diversify our markets," the booth manager explained.

Namibia does not have just diamonds. It is a large meat producer. It also produces high-quality chocolate and handmade textiles. After being under South Africa's yoke for a long time, Namibia is now looking for new pillars to support its economic development. When you visit its booth, you can feel that the country is still in a state of infancy. But it is plain to see that its economy will soon take off.

The easiest booth to visit and the least cluttered is that of Djibouti. The country counts especially on its services. With its 14 quays and its strategic position between Europe and the Indian Ocean, Djibouti counts on these assets to ensure its development.

The other East Africa giant, Kenya, is there with its internationally famous beer, Tusker. Note that *four-wheel drives* are also assembled in Kenya on behalf of large international manufacturers.

Kenya's ambition in Mauritius is measured. Kenyan representatives are currently attempting to achieve a breakthrough in Mauritius with Bic ballpoint pens. In telecommunications, Kenya's association with the international firm Ericsson is already beginning to bear fruit. Kenya is currently attempting to convince Mauritians to use telephones *Made in Kenya* under an Ericsson license.

And if you have had a Tusker beer and too much *papaya wine* from Kenya, you may be taken in by specimen checks from the collection offered by Kenyan printers.

Under present conditions, Swaziland has a marked advantage because of its connection with South Africa. The Swazi booth stresses wood. One-third of the country is covered with forest, and wood is exported to South Africa, Botswana, and Zambia.

Mauritius may not be interested in sawmill machinery, but shoes will catch its fancy. The manager of the Adam Daniels Shoe Company, Mr. Mohamed, is currently negotiating with MEDIA [Mauritius Export Development and Investment Authority] in order to set up a factory in Mauritius.

Before moving to Swaziland in order to be closer to his daughter, Mr. Mohamed was doing business in the United States.

The Tanzanian booth gives the same impression as the Ethiopian booth. It is a version entirely different from what you already know. As a Mauritian businessman pointed out, when you visit the booth, you get the impression that this is a prosperous country. Unfortunately, supermarket shelves over there are bare.

The Tanzanian representative believes that Mauritius offers a large market for building material, fruits and

vegetables, and seafood. "We feel that there is quite a good potential in Mauritius," he told L'EXPRESS.

Tanzania also wants to determine the potential for paper exports to EPZ member countries. "Tanzania's paper industry is the biggest in EPZ countries," he proudly asserted. For the moment, Tanzania exports to Zimbabwe and Kenya and intends to secure regular outlets on the Mauritian market.

The Mauritian booth is like a beehive. Some 30 companies are represented. It is hard to visualize the range of products offered. We do not want to downplay the qualities of this booth, but the Mauritian visitor will get a better idea of the range of products *Made in Mauritius* if he goes to the national fair.

Some 50 firms are represented at the national fair. MEDIA officials also acknowledge that the national fair gives a better idea of the Mauritian potential. This will be a treat for Mauritian families and foreign visitors alike. From high-quality textiles to Koda Ceramics' superb products, not to mention Mauriden precious stones.

While the Bonair Knitwear booth should get the prize for originality, there is no doubt that the Victorian Candy booth will be a magnet for kids and a nightmare for parents. Its display of candies and confections will make your mouth water.

Enjoy your trip to the third EPZ fair in Forest Side.

Central African Republic**Security Forces Posted in Bangui Due to Strike**

*AB2111212690 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Tension is high in the Central African Republic today where General Kolingba's government is under increasing pressure. Government workers have been complaining bitterly about their pay which has been frozen since 1982. Negotiations got nowhere although the authorities made an offer which was rejected. The unions issued an ultimatum; the deadline came and went and the workers are now on strike. From Bangui, Joseph Banamsay telexed this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] The situation here is now explosive. Today's strike has affected all ministries. Shops in (Kilometer Five), Bangui's most crowded area, were emptied yesterday in fear of a repeat of the looting early this year. Taxis and buses stopped operating this morning and the electricity supply has been disrupted in many areas of the capital. Security forces are posted around strategic points, especially the city center, to prevent further damage to property. It is now clear that the government has no further suggestion for tackling the problem beyond its earlier proposals during last week's negotiations. Its suggestion to use 1,600,000 CFA francs to partially cover frozen salary payments was not welcome by the workers' union. According to experts who attended the negotiations, a total of 7 billion CFA francs is required to completely pay off the backlog. Workers rejected the government's suggestion as inadequate and a purely cosmetic solution.

Meanwhile, a communique issued by senior government ministers last Monday calling on teachers to return to work has been unsuccessful. [end recording]

Presidential Order

*AB2211122590 Paris AFP in French 1521 GMT
21 Nov 90*

[Text] Bangui, 21 Nov (AFP)—This morning, General Andre Kolingba, president of the Central African Republic [CAR], requisitioned 200 civil servants to operate utility companies and air traffic, which have been paralysed by a general strike since this morning, it was learned from official sources early this afternoon in Bangui.

A presidential decree, read on the radio, ordered the requisitioned civil servants, workers of the water and power companies, and the Bangui airport and other airport facilities in the country to resume work. The gendarmerie and public security personnel have been summoned to see to the application of the order.

The strike, which involves the 20,000 employees of the CAR Civil Service as well as personnel of private companies, started this morning at the behest of the CAR

Workers Trade Union. The union had issued a strike warning on 18 November. The single trade union has been demanding general salary increases; a revocation of the freeze on Civil Service salaries; and regular payment of salaries. The strike follows that of teachers, which started a month ago for the same reasons.

Last week, the CAR Government proposed a partial revocation of the freeze on salaries with payment of 1.6 billion CFA francs. The Civil Service trade unions want a full revocation, which would correspond to an amount of 7 billion CFA francs.

Chad**Radio Cites Pro-Libyan 'Disinformation' Campaign**

*AB221110790 N'Djamena Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[Text] More than a week ago, Libya sent its mercenaries to attack our country from Sudan. This large-scale attack, which was expected here since July, was stopped by the Chadian National Armed Forces, FANT. They have just defeated the assailants in Tine and are continuing mopping up operations in the area. Chad is also facing another war relating to disinformation, is it not, Moussa Dago?

[Dago] The communiques regularly issued by the FANT High Command since 10 November have enabled all of us to progressively monitor the military situation in eastern Chad. We now know that the fighting, which began in Tine, extended to Iriba, Guereda, and for the past few days to Abeche. This extension of the fighting is inevitable in this war, but does not determine the outcome of a battle. What we can be sure of is that this would not be possible without foreign interference—in this case, that of Libya. This country has provided the aggressors with large quantities of arms and logistical support. The equipment is sent daily by an airlift from southern Libya to the mercenaries' rear bases in [Sudan's] Darfur Province. It would also not have been possible without the interested indulgence of the Sudanese authorities.

In any case, the magnitude of the current aggression was planned and announced by the Chadian Government in July. That is why Chad is not surprised by its magnitude. Our Armed Forces have been able to face the aggressors with coolheadedness and ability in spite of what has been said occasionally. Results are now showing with the capture of Tine, and the FANT war machine will continue its work until victory is achieved.

Unfortunately, we are once again forced to deplore the erroneous interpretation of events by some of Tripoli's relay agents, whose abilities to perceive and understand the Libyan theses are more than doubtful and are obviously influenced by the actions of the mercenaries. Sweeping judgements based on specific cases which cannot be explained leave no room for a realistic analysis

of the situation. Thus, the Chadian Government's communique are described as exaggerated and perceived as a dramatization, while those from the mercenaries are relayed without question and regarded as accurate. Thus, it was learned that two garrisons in southern Chad joined the forces of aggression; it was announced that an unbelievable number of FANT soldiers had been killed; people are told that the assailants are exclusively Chadians; but nothing is said regarding the origin of the equipment and motives of the suppliers.

It is in this context that Tripoli has reiterated its usual positions, that is to say, the withdrawal of French troops and the establishment of people's committees as conditions for the restoration of peace in Chad. In the euphoria following the Chad-Libya get-together, it was believed that this chorus was forgotten, but, in fact, the deep nature of the Libya regime, composed of resentment and revenge, prevailed. Through the resurgence of the conflict, we must be aware that the Libyan regime has simply changed its strategy, but not its objectives. And we all knew it. Unfortunately, the outside world does not seem to be aware of or feel it. And once again, this is a pity for the cause of peace.

Rebel Forces Recapture Tine, Take Goz-Beida

AB2211135690 Paris AFP in French 1208 GMT
22 Nov 90

[Text] Paris, 22 Nov (AFP)—Idriss Deby's Chadian rebels have recaptured Tine and yesterday took over the town of Goz-Beida, situated 70 km from the Sudan-Chad border and 200 km south of Abeche, according to a communique issued in Paris today by the Patriotic Movement of Salvation (MPS—Chadian armed opposition). The occupation of Goz-Beida has been confirmed in Paris by informed sources.

The communique adds that soldiers of the MPS led by former Chadian Army Commander in Chief Idriss Deby, who broke away in April 1989, have also been holding Adre and Koulbous, near the Chad-Sudan border, for several days.

The counterattack launched on Tuesday by the Chadian National Armed Forces (FANT) that enabled them to recapture Tine was apparently only a limited counterattack because the MPS soldiers found the area to be deserted. Chadian authorities, who announced the recapture of Tine by the FANT yesterday, have not as yet reacted to the new developments in the situation this morning.

In the face of Chadian rebels who have good knowledge of the terrain and are well equipped, notably in functional armored equipment, Hissein Habre's army seems to have gone back to its former tactics, which consist in retreating before the rebels—who are now attacking from many sides: against Tine, north of Abeche; against Adre and Goz-Beida, south of Abeche—and are waiting for the right time to begin fighting.

In its communique, the MPS once again called on the French Government "to remain neutral" in what is strictly an "inter-Chadian" affair.

Rwanda

Foreign Minister Bizimungu Reads Goma Communique

EA2111193690 Kigali Domestic Service in French
0430 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] After the Habyarimana-Museveni meeting, the Rwandan head of state joined his Economic Community of Great Lakes Countries counterparts in Goma. Uganda, which was invited, was represented by its deputy Prime Minister Mayanja. Listen to the communique concluding the meeting read by the Rwandan minister of foreign affairs and international cooperation:

[Bizimungu] At the invitation of Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, president of the Republic of Zaire, Presidents Pierre Buyoya of Burundi and Juvenal Habyarimana of Rwanda and Mr. Abu Mayanja, Ugandan deputy prime minister, made a working visit to Goma, chief town of the North Kivu Region, on 20 November following up the Gbadolite four-party meeting of 26 October which had gathered the Ugandan, Rwandan, Burundian, and Zairian heads of state.

Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, appointed by his counterparts to act as an intermediary between the Rwandan Government and the Patriotic Front, seized the opportunity to inform his colleagues on his talks with the Patriotic Front representatives. President Habyarimana briefed his colleagues on the development of the situation in the field.

The three heads of state and the deputy prime minister representing the Ugandan head of state finally heard the report of the OAU Liberation Committee executive secretary, who represents the OAU secretary general in implementing the work of the group of military cease-fire observers which was created following the Gbadolite four-party summit and which has been meeting in Goma since 29 October 1990.

After a lengthy exchange of views, the three heads of state and the deputy prime minister agreed to do everything possible to promote the rapid return of peace to Rwanda. Then the following measures were taken:

1. The cease-fire: Specific directives have been given to the group of military observers on the role they are expected to play.
2. The dialogue between the two conflicting parties: The president of Zaire confirmed that he was going to continue his mediator's role without respite.
3. The regional refugee conference and the importance of the problem: The president of Uganda was given a mandate by his counterparts, in his capacity as current OAU chairman, to keep the Tanzanian head of state informed on

the results of the Goma meeting and to take emergency measures toward hosting the refugee conference.

The proceedings took place in a mood of cordiality, brotherhood, and calmness. The Burundian and Rwandan presidents and the Ugandan deputy prime minister thanked Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko and the Zairian people for the warm and highly African welcome given to them.

[Signed] Goma, 20 November 1990

Zaire

Mobutu Marks 'Official End' of Intervention

*EA221154090 Mbuji Mayi Domestic Service
in French 1800 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[Text] The Salisa [rescue] operation carried out by Zairian Armed Forces [Faz] elements in the Rwandan conflict has ended. The troops will all go back to their units.

During a (?parade) in Goma this morning, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko said he was proud of [words indistinct]. The troops who participated in the Salisa operation in the (?Rwandan conflict) will all return to their respective units. During a parade organized in Goma this morning, Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko said he was proud of the Faz (?performance) [words indistinct]. Kibambi Shintwa reports:

[Mobutu recording indistinct]

[Kibambi] That was Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko speaking during a military parade in Goma this morning. In this way he was marking the official end of the Salisa operation [passage indistinct].

Impasse Over Democratization Process Criticized

*91AF0086A Kinshasa LE PHARE in French
24 Sep 90 pp 1,3*

[Editorial: "Return to Square One"]

[Text] The date of 14 September 1990 was one of the most important in the history of the emerging Third Republic. Rarely in the past has the chief of state been seen conferring with representatives of the national press. The occurrence was very likely a sign of the times.

At least, the event deserved to be noted as a true first. What we hope is a new and spectacular reconciliation drew nourishment from a nationalism that has hardly ever been the order of the day. There are grounds to believe that, above all, the reconciliation has lessened many frustrations, deceptions, and resentments that the press, feeling its honor, ambition, dignity, and hope to be forever lost, has let build up for a long time.

We can learn several lessons from these developments.

First, we must never believe or let anyone believe that 14 September, any more than 24 April, was a gift. Instead it was the result of a long, heroic, and patient struggle which, thanks to democratization, saw the national press join the camp of nationalism and liberty, suddenly gain an influence on public opinion that the strategists never expected and that is equalled in magnitude only by the loss of credibility that is afflicting political figures of all stripes.

The arrests in the name of respect for public order, collective security, and the inviolability of the person of the chief of state cannot be evaluated or understood otherwise. In any case, they are an undeniable sign of the frustration of those in power, who are no longer sure they can continue to write the rules and, moreover, see them respected without dissent.

The second lesson is political. More than ever, it is time to maneuver against the government of national unity because the principal demands of the opposition, the UDPS [Union for Democracy and Social Progress] primarily, have been judged unacceptable for the present. The degree of naivete on its part is surprising. Perhaps it was really a matter of appearing to maintain open lines of communication, at the same time realizing the channel was narrow.

Now we must rely on a government of transition said to be expanded, probably with various personalities who have recently, and with reason, left their original political affiliations.

The third lesson is strategic. All the acrobatics, negotiations, maneuvers, and challenges since 24 April seem to have been in vain, unless their sole purpose was to gain time while preserving the illusion of dialogue.

Everything seems to indicate that, curiously enough, we have come back to where we started, having traced a great circle, blinded by our wants or manipulated by the strategists.

The proposals of the opposition were judged unacceptable. The administration once again invoked bestowed democracy, which never bends to the suggestions of anyone else, anyone else being automatically suspect. No expansion of the national conference has been made. The famous law on political parties is unimplemented, just like the primary elections, which will be delayed not only to allow time for political education, but also to buy time with the parties' blessing. In the end, the government of transition, as revised and corrected, is the only valid path to democratization.

This is where we find ourselves in the wake of 14 September 1990. Nothing has changed. Nothing will have changed, even though some time may have been gained in the guise of negotiations doomed in advance to failure by the intransigence of the protagonists.

Meanwhile, the press has assumed its rightful place, in the face of threatened charges of disturbing the public order, the collective security, and the inviolability of the chief of state. That showing bodes well for the future.

Ethiopia

Foreign Minister on Jews' Exit; Figures Reported

TA2211202090 Jerusalem Television Network
in Hebrew 1900 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Excerpt] The Ethiopian foreign affairs minister says the Israeli Government had shown disrespect for the Ethiopian Government and had not taken the trouble to appoint a permanent ambassador to Addis Ababa for five months. The minister also charges that Israel had not kept agreements and harmed its status in Africa, and this has resulted in the delay in Jews' exit. The Ethiopian minister told this to Knesset Members Shim'on Shetrit, 'Ovadya 'Eli, and Ya'akov Tzur, the representatives of the Knesset social lobby, currently on a visit to Ethiopia. According to the foreign affairs minister, now that an ambassador has been appointed and the accords kept, the obstacles have been lifted and the Ethiopian Jews can reunite with their brethren in Israel.

About 1,000 Ethiopian immigrants will arrive in Israel in the coming five weeks. More than 2,800 Ethiopian Jews have arrived in Israel since the beginning of the year. This was stated today by Uri Gordon, the head of the Jewish Agency's Immigration and Absorption Department. A group of 150 Ethiopian Jews arrived at Ben-Gurion Airport this morning. [passage omitted]

Ambassador Presents Credentials

TA2311113990 Jerusalem Domestic Service
in Hebrew 1100 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Asher Na'im, Israel's ambassador in Addis Ababa, this morning presented his credentials to Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile-Mariam. Our correspondent Ze'ev Kohen reports that President Mengistu praised the special relationship between the two countries and promised to improve them. Our correspondent points out that some 300 Jews immigrated to Israel from Ethiopia this month.

EPLF Reports 'Victorious' Naval Operation

EA2211111690 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad
Masses of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] The navy of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front [EPLF] has carried out a victorious operation in the environs of Dahlak Islands [off Mitsiwa]. During the operation, on 19 November, our navy set on fire an Ethiopian vessel which was sailing around the islands. In addition, another ship was also attacked and damaged in the same operation.

Ministry Official Escapes to 'Liberated Area'

EA2111181890 (Clandestine) Voice of Ethiopia on the
Path to Democracy in Amharic 0300 GMT 18 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Mr. (Mehari Feleke Wodeje), who was formerly the head of the Southern Europe Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ethiopia, has recently

arrived in our liberated area peacefully. Mr. (Mehari Feleke), who used to serve as a junior diplomat in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, recently arrived in our liberated land peacefully through Chade-Metekel [Gojam Region, northwestern Ethiopia]. After he graduated from Addis Ababa University in political science, he used to work in the Southern Europe section—that is, Italy, the Vatican, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, and Malta—in the European Department of the ministry and managed to come to our liberated land, thus escaping [harassment]. He learned from a reliable source that action was to be taken against him by the government because differences between them and his opposition to the government and its policy had grown strong, he explains. [passage omitted]

* Israeli-Ethiopian Relations Examined

91AE0039Z Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 3 Oct 90 p 5B

[Interview with Kasa Kavada, adviser and friend of Lieutenant Colonel Haile-Mariam Mengistu, by Rahamim El'azar, as told to Aryeh Bender; date, place not given]

[Text] One of the most interesting meetings that I had during my visit to Ethiopia was with Kasa Kavada, close adviser and personal friend of ruler Mengistu, and the person whom the ruling party has appointed to be in charge of foreign affairs. I had met Kasa, who speaks fluent Hebrew, which he learned in the past at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He was one of the regular inhabitants of the Ta'amon coffee house in the city, during his visits to Israel, following the renewal of relations with Ethiopia. During one of them, he invited me to be his personal guest.

Kasa is a brilliant fellow, a pleasant conversationalist and pleasant mannered, friendly kind of guy, cultured and educated, with a sense of humor; nonetheless, he is a sharp diplomat. We spoke in Amharic and also in Hebrew; he occasionally threw in slang words.

Kasa's office is located in a modern and luxurious building. His office is upholstered with carpets and on the wall hangs Mengistu's picture. After five hours of conversation in the office, we moved to his private residence, a beautiful villa in one of the city's wealthy neighborhoods. He presented me to his wife, a warm and friendly woman, as a guest from Israel. She herself recently visited Israel for three weeks.

Kasa told me that their daughter is studying Hebrew at the 'Akiva seminar in Netanya, and asked that I send her regards. I took notes on the conversation. Kasa knows that I am a journalist and said that he had no objection to these notes being published. To the contrary, he is interested in bringing the message of Ethiopia to the public in Israel.

During the conversation, I told him that after 20 years in Israel, I have a Western orientation. In the West, the public likes to know everything about its leaders, and I find it difficult to understand why Ethiopians do not know how to

sell Mengistu to the West. Initially, Kasa hesitated to speak of Mengistu. Afterwards, he reconciled.

"Mengistu was born to a poor family", he said. "His parents divorced during his childhood. His father was a soldier and, as a boy, Mengistu wandered with him from base to base. Thus, he became familiar with the military life. When he grew up, he followed naturally in his father's footsteps and was mobilized into the army. He was an outstanding soldier, with superior leadership capability and rhetoric talent."

On Mengistu's path to rule, he related that during the twilight period of Emperor Haile Selassie, there was a sense of disintegration in the state. The people were starving and the intelligentsia was prevented from participating in the government. The revolution against the emperor was actually started by the students. The military faction that acted against the regime first sought to appoint the crown prince, who was then in England, as head of state without powers, in order to prevent a vacuum in the governmental system. When he refused, the revolutionaries sought to place the emperor's grandson at the head of the state, but he, too, refused. The army had no alternative but to fill the vacuum that was created on its own.

The revolution opened a new leaf in the annals of Ethiopia. The demise of the old government created chaos in the country. Nobody knew what to do or whom to follow. Accordingly, the army was called upon to run the country. And since Mengistu stood out as a nationalist, balanced, popular, brilliant patriot, who knew how to play on the feelings of the people, he became the head of state.

Later, Kasa presented his version with regard to the Marxist identity of the Ethiopian revolution. "Ethiopia's situation was terrible," he said. "There was a governmental vacuum within the state that took time to fill. The Americans refused to extend aid to us. The Somalis invaded 600 km into Ethiopian territory, in the region of the Ogaden desert. The Eritrean rebels pushed hard from the north. They were joined by the Tigre rebels. The state was disintegrating before our eyes. With no alternative, we asked the Russians for assistance.

"They made it contingent upon the acceptance of the slogans and the red flags. The Marxist ideology was part of the price that we paid for Russian aid. We disguised ourselves as Marxists. The Ethiopian people will never be Marxist-socialists. This will not work. But there was no alternative. We stood naked and exposed. Everyone had left us, and then the Russians and the Cubans entered.

"Today, the government is stabilizing. The direction is democratic and a parliament of 850 representatives has been established. President Mengistu is a civilian now and so are the cabinet ministers."

[El'azar] What are the results of the renewal of relations between Ethiopia and Israel?

[Kavada] Prior to the renewal of diplomatic relations, there were many talks and we reached agreements. Israel promised to assist us in many fields, also [including] technological aid. We put our hopes in Israel. We have common interests and common enemies and we will need to stand alongside one another.

We have the largest diplomatic staff in Israel. Israel is not wealthy, but it can influence its friends in the West to come to the aid of Ethiopia. It is Israel that is not upholding the agreements that were reached. If Israel upholds the agreements, Ethiopia will also fulfill them.

[El'azar] Have you also requested cluster bombs from Israel?

[Kavada] We did not request [them] and we will not request [them]. We have no need for cluster bombs in order to fight our civilians. We requested diplomatic aid from Israel, mainly in the United States, and cooperation.

[El'azar] Why aren't you enabling the remainder of the Ethiopian Jews to emigrate to Israel?

[Kavada] From our perspective, there is no problem. President Mengistu promised the unification of families, and he will fulfill his promise. Mengistu sympathizes with and admires Israel. His attitude toward Israel is influenced by two things. In 1977, Prime Minister Menahem Begin sent him a heartfelt letter that included a humane appeal to facilitate the emigration of the Jews of Ethiopia. Begin wrote that after an exile of 2000 years the State of Israel had been established in order to be a Jewish home for the Jewish people throughout the world. This letter greatly moved Mengistu.

The second thing that left its impression on Mengistu's attitude toward Israel was the memory of his experience as a sergeant in the Ethiopian army during the Six Day War. Mengistu had three military instructors from Israel: one of Yemenite descent, one of Russian descent, and one of Iraqi descent. When the Six Day War broke out, they immediately left the base and flew to Israel in order to fight for its defense. Since that time, Mengistu admires Israel.

[El'azar] Nonetheless, why is the exodus of the Jews stuck in Addis-Ababa being delayed?

[Kavada] Indeed, it is true that there are now thousands of Jews concentrated in Addis-Ababa. We know that the conditions they are in are extremely difficult, and not by our own fault. Whoever brought them from the villages should have attended to this ahead of time. We have no interest in seeing them suffer, however we want the process to be organized and documented. The two governments must coordinate all of the details in order to facilitate the exodus of Jews in an organized manner.

When I was in Israel, I agreed with the Jewish Agency regarding the way in which to complete the forms. I insist upon their completion as agreed upon. If the government changes tomorrow, I will be charged with selling the Jews of Ethiopia to foreign elements. There

must be documentation here showing that everything was done in accordance with the law. The problem is with you. I am not willing to be a clerk of the Jewish Agency or of the Ministry of Absorption. One of your people here told me that paperwork involves a great deal of labor. Let his fingers hurt. I cannot give an order stating they let the Jews exit just like that.

[El'azar] It is said that the Mengistu government will not hold out and, therefore, only few are willing to invest in Ethiopia.

[Kavada] Mengistu has been holding out despite all of the forecasts, and he will keep on. He is a real patriot whose concern is for his country and not for his personal fate, as they are trying to portray in the foreign press.

[El'azar] Why don't you solve the problem with the rebels by peaceful means?

[Kavada] We proposed peace talks to the rebels, but they deceived us. We have no interest in fighting them. We want peace to be established among the people of Ethiopia. We proposed extensive autonomy in many places; however, the rebels of Eritrea still refuse, because of the aid that they receive from the Arab states.

[El'azar] Why hasn't Mengistu visited any Western state since his ascent to power?

[Kavada] This is true. If he is invited he will go.

[El'azar] Will he also visit Israel?

[Kavada] If he receives an official invitation, he will go to Israel on an official visit.

[El'azar] Did you know about Operation Moses?

[Kavada] We knew about all of the preparations toward the operation. At the time, I was Ethiopia's ambassador in Geneva. I summoned the Israeli representative and told him that our security services knew about the operation. We said that we would not impede it, on condition that it not be made public. Afterwards, however, it was made public, in spite of our warnings, and we found ourselves being attacked by the Arab states, who charged us with collaborating with you. Neither Israel nor any Jewish organization in the world saw fit to deny the charges against us, and they did not come to our aid.

[El'azar] Why, in the past, did you demand the return to Ethiopia of Jews who had emigrated in Operation Moses?

[Kavada] This started in a ruling of Jewish law by Rabbi 'Ovadia Yosef with regard to the Jews of Ethiopia and the establishment of various organizations that acted on their behalf. We saw this as something that had not existed during the thousands of years of the existence of the Jews in Ethiopia. We saw this as interference in our revolution. We had only begun the first steps of the new regime, and suddenly rabbis were coming and deciding

who among the citizens of Ethiopia was a Jew. Suddenly, Israel was pressuring us. We saw this as interference in our internal affairs.

[El'azar] Why aren't you enabling the Falashmura, the Jewish converts, to emigrate to Israel?

[Kavada] We have not refused. You, the Israelis, refused. It is likely that they converted to Christianity because of missionary influence or due to objective reasons, but we view your refusal as discrimination. All in all, we are speaking of approximately 2,000 people. Ethiopia, with its 50 million residents, can get along with 2,000 fewer people.

[El'azar] What are your expectations from the Ethiopian immigrants in Israel?

[Kavada] We expect a lot from you. [We expect] you not to forget your homeland, to explain our situation to the people in Israel and to your government, and to pressure it to assist us in the areas that are vital to our existence. We are interested that you advance, succeed, and serve as a source of pride to your homeland.

(As told to Arye Bender.)

Kenya

Finance Minister on Economy at Donor's Conference
*EA2211164690 Nairobi KNA in English 0730 GMT
20 Nov 90*

[Excerpt] Paris, 20 November (KNA)—The Donors' Consultative [Group meeting] for Kenya began in Paris today. The vice-president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti, is leading the Kenya delegation into the meeting organized by the World Bank. Today's meeting, chaired by Mr. Callisto E. Matavo, director of Eastern Africa Region, World Bank, reviewed various areas of the country's economic development.

In his address, Prof. Saitoti covered the medium-term growth prospects and strategy, the fiscal policy, state corporations, the financing of budgets and measures to promote exports. The vice-president also discussed the sector adjustment programmes as well as other policy initiatives, and further underlined priorities for external assistance, balance of payment support, and project assistance.

Prof. Saitoti said that Kenya's development strategy for the 80's and 90's to deal with the growing employment needs and renewed growth is articulated in Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on economic management for renewed growth. He said within a short span of four years, Kenya has begun to see good results of the vigorous implementation of the development strategy.

The vice-president said the agricultural sector adjustment programme was a success and the industrial sector had started showing signals of success. He said the

government was in the process of implementing structural adjustments in the financial sector to make it more efficient, and far-reaching reforms in the trade policy.

The vice-president said the Gulf crisis would compound the balance of payments' problems and requested the donors to give more assistance on balance of payments support. The Gulf crisis would further increase the inflationary rates and growing recessionary trends. He said the government had assessed the implications of the oil crisis for the Kenyan economy and have already implemented several major policy measures to strengthen the adjustment process.

The vice-president observed that the measures would include austerity on the part of the government, so as not to crowd out the private sector from the domestic credit market and to lessen on price level and balance of payments. The government would also adopt a vigorous implementation of measures to promote exports, a more productive and efficient portfolio of public investment projects, and rigorous demands for a vastly improved performance in the state corporations sector, said the vice-president. He stressed that a common element for the next three years is the need to implement effectively policies for maintaining macro-economic stability and to supplement these specific reforms and adjustment measures in the economy, such as agriculture, industry, transport, health and education.

The vice-president said the government is currently developing the public investment programme (PIP) so that a much greater selectivity is achieved in introducing projects for funding in the budget, and an investment programme that matches more closely with priorities in each of the major sectors of development. The vice-president stated that another major aspect of policy which the government is currently reviewing relates to the management of state corporations, noting that there were gradual improvements in this areas since 1987.

The vice-president is accompanied to the meeting by the minister for planning and national development, Dr. Zachary Onyonka. [passage omitted]

Mombasa KANU Group Guilty of 'Misconduct'

EA2111160590 Nairobi DAILY NATION
in English 19 Nov 90 p 1

[By Gideon Mulaki]

[Text] Mombasa District's 500-member KANU [Kenya African National Union] youth wing has been disbanded because of "general misconduct and misuse of power."

Announcing this yesterday, Shariff Nassir, the party branch chairman, said he took the decision in order to protect the name of the government, the ruling party, the Kenya African National Union, and President Moi.

He said some youthwingers were corrupt. "They have been demanding money from people in homes or on the

way from the cinemas (failing which) they take them to the central police station, accusing them of petty crimes," he said. And he directed the youthwingers to immediately surrender their KANU identification cards.

The youth wing was made up of 20 elected and five nominated members for each of the district's 24 KANU wards. The recruitment of a new youth wing will be conducted next year, Mr Nassir said, adding: "They will be screened to determine their behaviour before they are recruited into the party."

Speaking at a press conference at the branch office, Mr Nassir said he had monitored youthwingers on Saturday/Sunday night and what he saw brought him close to tears. He found that the youthwingers "used party powers to enrich themselves". "What I saw and heard was enough (to make) even a blind or deaf man take action," he said.

Mr Nassir, who is also an assistant minister for information and broadcasting and the member of Parliament for Mvita, said he would call a meeting with the administration and police to discuss the matter. He said that although the youthwingers were from his branch, he was not the type of leader "who hides such ugly incidents and pretends that things are normal."

Somalia

Situation Discussed, 'War' Declared on Bandits

EA2111130090 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali
1709 GMT 20 Nov 90

[From "Radio Panorama" Program]

[Text] During its life the Somali Democratic Republic [SDR] Government has striven to do something about the problems existing in the country and has put forward its program of action based on liberalizing politics and the economy, stabilizing peace, and ensuring justice. An extraordinary meeting of the SDR Council of Ministers chaired by Comrade Mohamed Hawadle Madar, the SDR prime minister, was held at the presidency in Mogadishu. In the first part of this radio panorama program, we look into this matter.

Dr. Abdikassim Salad Hassan, deputy prime minister and minister of the interior, presented at the meeting a report on the general security situation of the country. Following this the council held a thorough debate on the report and analyzed its contents.

After this meeting a special meeting was held by the National Security Committee chaired by Comrade Mohamed Hawadle Madar and attended by deputy prime ministers, Comrade Dr. Abdirahman Jama Barre, who is also minister of finance and treasury, and Abdikassim Salad Hassan, Brigadier General Mohamed Siad Hersi Morgan, the minister of defense and commander in chief of the Somali Armed Forces, and other

commanders of the security forces. The security situation of the country especially that of Benadir Region [Mogadishu area], was discussed.

Following lengthy debate, the following resolutions were made: To implement the government program to rapidly attain stable peace in the country; to wage merciless war against the bandits perpetrating murder and robbery on the lives and wealth of the Somali people for the security forces, in collaboration with the Somali people; to ensure the implementation of this decision in putting into effect the peace plan for the various regions of the country; and to fight as bandits any people who take part in the looting of state property, that of civilians, agencies, and foreign companies. Somali people are being requested, collectively and individually, to fully support the security forces in discharging their responsibility.

Iraqi Envoy Gives Siad Message on Developments

JN221112690 *Baghdad Domestic Service in Arabic*
2100 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] 'Abdallah Fadil, minister of awqaf and religious affairs and envoy of leader President Saddam Husayn, has conveyed a message from his excellency the president to Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre on relations and the developments in the Arabian Gulf. This came when the Somali president received 'Abdallah Fadil in Mogadishu today in the presence of the Somali foreign and justice ministers and the Iraqi ambassador to Somalia. President Saddam Husayn's envoy arrived in the Somali capital today.

Rebels To 'Boycott' Proposed Cairo Peace Talks

AB2111211890 *Paris AFP in English* 1947 GMT
21 Nov 90

[Text] Nairobi, Nov 21 (AFP)—Somali rebels on Wednesday said they would boycott proposed peace talks in Cairo between the Somali Government and opposition movements. The radio of the Somali National Movement (SNM), which controls much of northern Somalia, said the meeting, planned for December 12, would be "useless" without the participation of the rebels. It said the SNM and the other two main rebel groups, the United Somali Congress (USC) and the Somali Patriotic Movement (SPM), had issued a joint statement saying they would not be going to Cairo. It did not say when or where the statement was issued.

The SNM stepped up attacks on government forces in northern Somalia last month. Diplomatic sources said the Somali Army had also been pushed back by the USC in the centre of the country, and by the SPM in the south.

The Cairo meeting was announced in the Egyptian capital on Tuesday by a member of the Italian Parliament, Mario Rafaelli, after a meeting with Butrus Butrus Ghali, Egypt's minister of state for foreign affairs. The Somali Government has accepted Egyptian, Italian and

Kuwaiti mediation with rebel groups, the Somali ambassador to Egypt, Abdallah Hassan Mahmud, told the Egyptian daily AL-AHRAM.

The Somali capital of Mogadishu, where President Mohamed Siad Barre's government maintains its grip, has been rocked by a spate of unclaimed bombings in recent months. Several Western embassies have made preparations to pull out their staff at any time.

Uganda

Government Says No Reassembly of Rwandan Rebels

EA2111131090 *Kampala Domestic Service in English*
1000 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Excerpts] According to Radio Rwanda broadcast of last night, also quoted by BBC Africa service last night and repeated this morning, President Museveni is reported to have told the meeting which he held with the Rwanda president in Cyanika yesterday that rebels fighting the Rwanda Government had retreated into Uganda and disarmed and are reassembling in southwestern Uganda.

The Uganda Government wishes to unequivocally deny the report as totally false, malicious, and diversionary. No such statement was ever made by President Museveni. What was agreed upon in the meeting by the two heads of state is contained in a communique which was issued at the end of the meeting. [passage omitted]

The Government of Uganda finds this statement very unfortunate and highly irresponsible at a time when all the leaders in this region are making every effort to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Rwanda. Such statements are consistent with the Rwandese propaganda of hoodwinking the world into believing the armed conflict in Rwanda is an external aggression which the Rwanda Government has now repudiated. The truth of the matter is that a war is taking place on Rwandese soil, as Rwanda has herself admitted during various summit fora, notably Mwanza, Gbadolite, and indeed yesterday at Cyanika.

The world knows that President Museveni has spared no effort in trying to assist in finding a peaceful solution to this conflict. A number of meetings have taken place through intermediaries, notably Presidents Mwinyi of Tanzania and Mobutu of Zaire. This time, however, as a confidence-building measure, President Museveni was prepared to go and discuss the Rwanda conflict on Rwanda soil. It is unfortunate, therefore, that no sooner had the historic Cyanika meeting ended—which meeting was described by both presidents as having taken place in a most frank and cordial atmosphere—than Rwanda Government saw it fit to cast aspersions on the positive foundation built for a peaceful resolution of the Rwanda conflict at Cyanika and other meetings before it. Uganda, nonetheless, remains committed to the search for a peaceful resolution of the Rwanda conflict and to a policy of good-neighbornliness in our region.

Officials Say 'Hundreds' of Rebels Surrender

AB2111141690 Paris AFP in English 1330 GMT
21 Nov 90

[By Epajjar Ojullu]

[Text] Kumi, Uganda, Nov 21 (AFP)—Hundreds of Ugandan rebels have surrendered after the Army launched a drive to flush them out of eastern Uganda, local officials said here Wednesday. The rebels belonged to the Ugandan People's Army (UPA), which has been fighting government forces in eastern Uganda since President Yoweri Museveni seized power in 1986 after a five-year guerrilla war.

UPA fighters last week killed a senior politician in the eastern district of Kumi, William Aponya, whose badly mutilated body was found a week after rebels abducted him. His eyes had been gouged out. The rebels ambushed a military truck on the main Kumi-Mbale road last Thursday, killing two government soldiers. An AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE correspondent saw some

200 UPA fighters who said they had just surrendered in this eastern town on Tuesday. They were assembled at the railway station.

Mr. Museveni declared a presidential pardon for political crimes committed by the rebels two years ago. But he said those who had murdered civilians or committed crimes such as rape or theft would be prosecuted. Kumi District Administrator Mathias Akabwai said nearly 6,000 rebels had surrendered since 1986. He said he expected many rebels to surrender this week, including some top commanders. Reliable sources here said Nathan Ikuret, a senior UPA leader, was expected to give himself up. A senior Army officer in Kumi, Major Amon Butamanya, said the surrenders had considerably weakened the rebels, who were now moving in small groups of four or five to avoid detection. In the past year the Army has stepped up operations against the rebels in a bid to end the bush war in eastern Uganda. The offensive apparently succeeded in lowering the guerrillas' morale. The 200 fighters in Kumi said they were glad to be out of the bush. Local officials said they had encouraged the government to show clemency to the rebels. The only fighters who had not surrendered were those guilty of atrocities against civilians, they said.

SAPA Reviews Transkei Coup Attempt

*MB2211201690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1940 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[Text] Umtata Nov 22 SAPA—Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa expressed his suspicion on Thursday that South Africa was behind a failed coup which left at least 15 people dead, including the coup leader, a former aide of the Transkei ruler.

At a rally in the Transkei capital, Umtata, on Thursday afternoon, he called for an urgent meeting with the South African Government to discuss the coup attempt, crushed by troops loyal to him.

South Africa's ambassador to Transkei, Gert Terblanche, told SAPA the SA Government was not involved in the failed coup in any way. In Pretoria, foreign affairs minister, Pik Botha, categorically denied South Africa was involved: "The SA Government is shocked at Major General Holomisa's allegations that the SA Embassy in Umtata had knowledge of the attempted coup. (It) is not only totally unfounded but extremely irresponsible. The South African Government was totally unaware of the attempted coup," according to a statement by Mr. Botha.

Also in Pretoria, education and training minister, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, told SAPA he had at no stage heard any talk in government circles of bringing down the Transkei Government. He said Transkei was discussed at a government meeting as late as Wednesday this week, and no-one present had suggested attempting a coup in the nominally independent territory.

Recently Gen. Holomisa claimed "mercenaries" were being trained at the town of Maclear, about 100km from Umtata in the eastern Cape, to attack the Transkei.

At Thursday's Umtata rally, attended by about 30,000 people, Gen. Holomisa reported the coup attempt against him had been put down and the plotters—including the leader Colonel Craig Duli—had been killed. After the rally he told a SAPA reporter that Col. Duli, a former aide of his, 10 co-conspirators, and four members of the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) were dead. Col. Duli's body-guard and right-hand man, Boetie Davis, a South African, was also killed.

Gen. Holomisa denied reports that members of the African National Congress military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation], had assisted on the side of TDF troops in crushing the coup. It would be "too confusing" if MK was involved, he said.

Standing to the side of General Holomisa at the rally was the regional secretary of the ANC [African National Congress], Pumzile Mayapi.

Col. Duli and his men had been holed up in Gen. Holomisa's office on the 11th floor of the Botha Sigcau Building, the seat of government, in central Umtata,

from about 7AM on Thursday. Security forces loyal to Gen. Holomisa used mortars in an attempt to eject the coup plotters.

According to eyewitness accounts, Col. Duli was brought out of the building suffering from severe shrapnel wounds, and then put in the boot of a car. People on the street attempted to beat and punch him. A SAPA reporter was told that it appeared that Col. Duli died of his wounds while in the boot of the car.

SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] TV news claimed, however, Col. Duli "had been murdered by (Transkei) government soldiers while on his way to a place of detention." Earlier the Transkei Government reportedly claimed the rebel leader and 10 of his co-conspirators died in a shootout at the Botha Sigcau Building.

At the Umtata rally, Gen. Holomisa said he felt sorry for Col. Duli and he hoped his former aide had acted "from deep in his heart". He said it would be a pity if it was revealed that Col. Duli had "been used".

General Holomisa expressed his suspicion that South Africa was behind the coup attempt, adding he wanted to meet urgently with the SA Government to discuss "certain issues" which were disturbing to him. The Transkei ruler added he did not "want to kneel before South Africa."

Earlier reports suggested an unspecified number of white men were also involved in the failed coup. Gen. Holomisa said he had no proof of this. He added: "Maybe they ran away after they found their palace coup was a cock-up."

The Transkei ruler is scheduled to hold a press conference in Umtata on Friday, where he plans to display Col. Duli's body. Almost all Umtata's shops were shut for most of Thursday. Life in the Transkei capital reportedly returned to normal late on Thursday.

The coup attempt reportedly started between 3 and 4AM when Col. Duli, accompanied by approximately 25 rebels, opened fire with mortars at the Transkei Defence Force Air Wing military base. They also reportedly took an unspecified number of hostages. The rebels then tried to capture 1 TDF battalion at Ncise, 17 km outside Umtata, but failed.

Colonel W. Mdzwayiba, spokesman at Ncise, said after the attack: "The Army is 100 percent behind Gen. Holomisa. We have everything under control."

According to Gen. Holomisa, four TDF soldiers were killed in the attack, and an "unknown number of rebels."

The rebels then moved to the Botha Sigcau Building at about 6AM. At around 7AM they were confronted by Gen. Holomisa's aide, Captain Mbulelo Xaba, which resulted in an exchange of gunfire. Col. Duli, however, managed to reach the 11th floor of the building.

According to reports, Transkei Radio managed to contact the rebel leader, who claimed he had taken control of the Transkei Government. Gen. Holomisa denied the claim, and sent troops loyal to him to surround the building. The Transkei ruler said the troops used rifle grenades, which they fired from the street. Later a gunfight ensued on the 11th floor, defeating Col. Duli and his co-conspirators.

According to Ambassador Terblanche: "I was just as surprised as anyone else when this (coup) happened." He denied he had had any contact with the rebel leader. According to earlier reports, though, Col. Duli had telephoned Mr. Terblanche early on Thursday to say he was now in power in Transkei.

Senior South African security sources in Pretoria told SAPA they did not expect, by late Thursday afternoon, South African forces to intervene in Transkei. The South African Defense Force [SADF] confirmed though it had put troops on alert to move in "if necessary" to protect South African lives and property in Transkei. SADF spokesman Commandant Riaan Louw was reacting to reports that aircraft-loads of troops had been flown to the Transkei border.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Leon Mellet also confirmed the South African Police [SAP] Task Force had been put on standby, but added it did not seem likely by Thursday afternoon that their services would be required.

In Umtata, Ambassador Terblanche added he had contacted Transkei President Tutor Ndamase as South Africa regards him as constitutional head of the Transkei and told him South Africa could not interfere unless President Ndamase requested it. President Ndamase said that intervention would not be necessary, Mr Terblanche told SAPA. Communications with Umtata were restored at about 5.30PM on Thursday, after being down for most of the day.

Holomisa Interviewed

MB2211170690 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 22 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] As General Bantu Holomisa, the leader of the Transkei homeland in South Africa, predicted this week, there has been a bid to oust him in a coup. It was apparently led by a former member of Gen. Holomisa's military administration.

On the line, Elizabeth Ohene asked Gen. Holomisa what had been happening.

[Begin recording] [Holomisa] The latest situation is that 11 people have been shot dead from the group which was attacking our camp this morning and their leader, Colonel Duli, who occupied offices, has also been killed.

[Ohene] So, Col. Duli and how many other people were involved in the attempt?

[Holomisa] Up to this stage, it is not clear (?as to) how many people were involved because our security forces returned fire and they ran away and we managed to kill 11 and also captured two people.

[Ohene] Now, were there any members of the Transkei Defense Force involved in this or did all of them come from Col. Duli outside Transkei? [sentence as heard]

[Holomisa] Yes, all of them are coming from outside. There was no member of the defense force, or member of the police, or security police.

[Ohene] Apparently, they were wanting to overthrow you, personally, maybe. What else did they want?

[Holomisa] If you trace their relationships. They are related to Matanzima and also the bodyguard which was killed belongs to Matanzima. It is his bodyguard. Duli also is related to Matanzima and you know that we have not been accepted well in the corridors of Pretoria. So, I think that the main motive is to remove this government which has tried to bring (?life) for people here and put up [words indistinct] will be singing in the tune of Pretoria.

[Ohene] Now, the South Africans have denied strenuously that they have anything to do with this.

[Holomisa] It is strange because Col. Duli and Mr. Davis, who have been killed, were given an appeal...[pauses] in an appeal court in Port Elizabeth when they were arrested with arms, plus 25 other people earlier on in June. [sentence as heard]

The South African Police gave an undertaking in court that those people can be given their bail and they will see to it that they do not repeat the things they have done but today they ended up in Umtata and the first person to tell that there is a coup was the ambassador of South Africa and [word indistinct] saying: Duli has taken over. Why he could not phone me to confirm that (?because) he stays a few kilometers away from me, is still a mystery.

[Ohene] Now, you yourself personally, how did you first find out that there was something underway?

[Holomisa] I was informed by the director of Military Intelligence round about 0330 [0130 GMT] and then I told him that....

[Ohene, interrupting] 0330 this morning?

[Holomisa] This morning and that they must be calm and he must come into contact with the commander of the Transkei Defense Force and they must deploy because these rebels were bombarding the military camp, the recruit camp, and using mortars but they managed to repel them back.

[Ohene] So, how much damage really has been caused inside Umtata now?

[Holomisa] The damage...[pauses] there is no damage in town other than the building itself where (?we) were firing at the offices at the top floor where they were occupying. Those were done by our Special Forces [word indistinct] other than that, the town, the life is continuing normally and I have just addressed 45 to 50,000 people now at the stadium who converged at the stadium at their own will and demanded that I must go there and they want to give solidarity and moral support.

[Ohene] You yourself, how much longer do you think you can go on constantly fighting off attempts to overthrow you?

[Holomisa] My objective is not to defend my position but we are here to continue with our cleaning up campaign and we are still going ahead regardless of what they think or they want. [end recording]

Five Whites Arrested

MB2311072090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0701 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] Umtata Nov 23 SAPA - Unconfirmed reports say five whites have been arrested in connection with the attempted bloody coup in Transkei crushed by loyalist forces on Thursday [22 Nov], SABC radio news reports. The situation in Transkei on Friday morning was relatively calm.

At least 15 people were killed in gunfire from troops loyal to Gen Bantu Holomisa. The dead included coup leader Col Craig Duli, once a close aide to the general.

Reports from Umtata say the only signs of the 12-hour drama are the presence of police patrol units and several military-manned roadblocks. Unconfirmed but well sourced reports say five whites have been arrested. An official report issued by Gen Holomisa's offices on Thursday night indicated the fatalities included 11 of the rebel group and four government soldiers. South Africans are still warned to stay clear of the country until a fuller and more detailed picture can be obtained about safety and security.

Botha Comments

MB2311064090 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 0500 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Telephone interview with Foreign Minister Pik Botha by correspondent Denise Smuts; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Botha] General Holomisa came to power through a coup d'etat and his problem is that he has not proved that he has the support of his people, and he continuously therefore accuses others. Whenever something goes wrong it's never him. He ought to return to civilian rule. He ought to arrange elections. That will resolve the problems of the Transkei, in my opinion.

Secondly, it gives our country a bad name if in any part of southern Africa any form of violence occurs. It would therefore be simply idiotic for the South African Government to be involved in any manner whatsoever in instigating violence or arranging violence. It is simply untrue. We're against it. I know very well what is the effect of forms of violence, and the perception, the image that this country is now consistently engaged in violence and that it is unstable and that it is ungovernable. So it is absolute nonsense to allege any complicity on the part of the South African Government or any agency of the South African Government.

[Smuts] Mr. Botha, yesterday the situation in Transkei was reportedly calm. However, you later reissued the warning to South African citizens not to enter or travel through Transkei until there was certainty about the situation. Why the fear?

[Botha] Because it was not as yet clear to us what exactly the position is. You see, communications were also cut yesterday. It was only restored late yesterday afternoon and one must first make sure that everything has returned to normal; otherwise, and there may be, sudden, unexpected turns of events there, and we just want to rest assured the whole situation is indeed under control and that the result of Gen. Holomisa's inciting statement would not be such that South Africans would be attacked in areas where there will be no protection for them.

[Smuts] Is the situation normal?

[Botha] I must wait for a report from my embassy as well as reports from our police who are monitoring the situation.

[Smuts] It was also reported that aircraft loads of troops had been flown to the Transkei border. Are there South African troops at the border?

[Botha] Gen. Malan and Minister Vlok made certain arrangements, contingency arrangements, so that we could have a unit and units ready in case it will be necessary to protect our embassy and staff and South Africans and South African property within the Transkei.

[Smuts] The ANC [African National Congress] has also accused the government of complicity. What's your reaction to this?

[Botha] The ANC consistently accuses all other parties than themselves and I would have been surprised if they didn't do so. Then they would have been inconsistent. I know for a fact that Gen. Holomisa and the ANC are very close; as a matter of fact, I believe he is a member and supporter of them, so it wouldn't surprise me at all. They merely echoed and repeated what the general said.

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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23 November 1990

ANC Accuses Pretoria

*MB2311050090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2053 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[Text] East London Nov 22 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] on Thursday condemned the attempted coup in Transkei, accusing the South African Government of complicity. Eleven "rebels" were reportedly killed, including the leader of the attempt, Craig Duli.

"This attempted coup (was) apparently engineered with the knowledge of the South African Government," the ANC said in a statement.

The South African minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, on Thursday denied any South African involvement.

The ANC said "the putsch comes two days after the Transkei authorities announced the uncovering of a training camp established within their territory for the purpose of destabilising the government. The alacrity with which a South African Government minister announced their intention of intervening, on the pretext of defending South African property and citizens, persuades us that they are not entirely innocent in this affair."

The ANC called on the people of South Africa, particularly those living in Transkei, to rally to the defence of General Bantu Holomisa's government "in order to consolidate the democratic gains we have scored in the Transkei."

Ciskei's Military Council was not prepared to comment on the coup attempt on Thursday. The council's official spokesman, Mr. Ian Dixon, said on Thursday evening the homeland's leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, had said the situation was "still premature."

"The brigadier is waiting until we get an authoritative statement to react to," he said.

President's Statement on Thatcher Resignation

*MB2211165290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1638 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 22 SAPA—President F.W. de Klerk on Thursday heaped praise on Margaret Thatcher, saying she had withheld pressure from many sides to stand by South Africa. Her stand was now being vindicated by the movement by this country back to the international fold, he said in a statement.

The statement said:

"The news of developments in the United Kingdom concerning the leadership of the Conservative Party, and consequently of the country, must inevitably give rise to a degree of uncertainty and concern in many capitals, not least in South Africa. The choice of its leaders is a concern of the British people and the fact that I acknowledge the important role played by Mrs. Thatcher in South Africa's international relations during her term of office can, of course, not be construed as any attempt to

influence events there. South Africans have cause for great appreciation of Mrs. Thatcher's principled stand on South African issues on the world stage. She had faith in South Africa's ability to solve its problems in a democratic way. That faith is being vindicated. She had the courage of her convictions and withheld pressure from many sides to impose punishment on South Africa, measures which would in the long run have promoted anarchy. Her approach was rational, incisive, decisive and consistent. I have no doubt that she takes pleasure in South Africa's obvious progress to readmission to the international fold. I believe, however, that South African developments in the past year will suffice to ensure that relations with the British Government, under new leadership, will remain cordial. I have already dispatched a message on a more personal note to Mrs. Thatcher."

Mandela Pays Tribute

*MB2311052890 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2154 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[Text] London Nov 22 SAPA—African National Congress Deputy [ANC] President Nelson Mandela on Thursday [22 Nov] night paid tribute to the outgoing British prime minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, saying the ANC had much to thank her for even though they had disagreed on strategy over ending apartheid in South Africa.

Interviewed by BBC Television in South Africa, Mr. Mandela said: "Although she was not with us on strategy, we have much to be thankful for (to Mrs Thatcher)."

State President Addresses Business Group 21 Nov

*MB2111211090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2012 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 21 SAPA—Government and the private sector had to find ways of raising the living standards of many South Africans, President F.W. de Klerk said on Wednesday night.

Addressing about 1,200 people at a Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, Mr. de Klerk said ways had to be found to overcome the obstacles that have troubled South Africa's economy since 1985 when the country's access to foreign capital had been cut.

South Africa was exporting valuable employment opportunities by selling raw materials or those that had only reached the first stage of manufacture, he said.

"What this country needs is the full development of all its resources," he said, adding government was trying to do this with its package of fiscal and monetary guidelines, tax reforms, deregulation, privatisation, better attitudes towards labour, and its fight against inflation.

The opportunities of the modern sector of the country's economy must be increased in order to meet the reasonable aspirations of all South Africans. Mr. de Klerk said

there was a sector of the community that believed the envisaged reconstruction of the system would be coupled with an immediate upliftment of living standards.

Another important task was to ensure the privileges of the free market system were filtered to everyone more speedily. Political developments in South Africa and abroad made this task a little easier, he said adding government had already begun this process with a shift in its budget priorities. He said if township violence came to an end, more of the money spent on maintaining law and order could be used for the community.

Expected increases in expenditure were unavoidable in order to handle the growing demands for socio-economic development. One of the most important incentives for necessary economic growth was government's decision to keep its sector of the economy within its desired restrictions.

An incentive for prospective investors would be a lowering of tax rates.

"The aim is to get the maximum marginal rate for personal income tax to be lowered to 40 per cent within the next four years," he said. Mr. de Klerk said the negotiations process could not be diverted again. "Those who do not want to follow the path of reasonable negotiation will by definition deprive themselves of the solutions that are being stived for."

Bophuthatswana Leader Comments on ANC Talks

MB2211174090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1723 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] Mmabatho Nov 22 SAPA—President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana said on Thursday his government's talks with the African National Congress [ANC], which began last weekend, were a positive step towards solving the complex problems of the region—but he rejected the "simplistic course" of a referendum to determine whether his people wanted reincorporation.

Speaking after his arrival back in the country after a short visit abroad, the president said he had stated on numerous occasions that the road to peace was the road that led to the negotiating table.

"Violence and unconstitutional disruptive action can only lead to misery and inevitable delay in finding an acceptable solution. My government has, over a period of months, gone to great lengths to set up such meetings where differences can be discussed," President Mangope said in remarks distributed in a statement.

He stressed, however, his government had no intention of embarking on a "simplistic course leading to a referendum on the issue of possible re-incorporation into South Africa. My government will review and evaluate the changes in South Africa carefully and, if in the opinion of my government, certain adaptations need to be made to our own constitutional position, the people of Bophuthatswana will be given the opportunity to

exercise their vote on such a major issue," President Mangope was quoted as saying in the statement.

Meanwhile a Bophuthatswana Police public relations officer, Colonel David George, on Thursday announced that a further seven ANC detainees had been released since Wednesday night. The released detainees were identified as Laura Taylor, Aaron Makeng, Mandla Mangwetyana, Julius Mongwaketsi, a Dr. Rangaka, Jomo Khasu and Silas Mbipha, according to the same statement.

Several people in Bophuthatswana were detained last week after the government alleged it had uncovered a plot to assassinate President Mangope. The assassination allegations came on the same day as a mass stayaway to call for reincorporation and for the recognition of South African-based trade unions in Bophuthatswana.

SADF Responds to Chemical Weapons Claims

MB2211135190 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
22 Nov 90 p 9

[Unattributed report: "SADF and Armscor Deny Chemical Weapons Claim"]

[Text] Armscor [Armament Corporation of South Africa] and the SADF [South African Defence Force] have responded to a U.S.-Government report naming South Africa as one of 20 countries suspected of possessing or attempting to acquire chemical weapons.

The U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's 1989 report on world military expenditures and arms transfers listed South Africa along with Libya, Israel, Syria, China and North Korea as "chemical weapons countries."

In a statement to THE STAR yesterday, an SADF spokesman said: "The SADF fully subscribed to the contents and prescriptions of the Geneva protocol restricting the use of lethal chemical weapons in war, and subsequent conventions and protocols in this regard."

Armscor said it had decided to investigate "defensive counter-measures" at the time when it was rumoured that chemical weapons were being used against UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] forces in Angola.

"This consisted of, for example, protective clothing and the protection of vehicles such as the Rooikat armoured car with its internal pressure system."

22 Nov Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2211130190

[Editorial report]
THE STAR

Holomisa Thrifty With Ministers' Salaries—
Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 22 November in a page 32 editorial "castigated" Transkei's General

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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Bantu Holomisa for "dissolving his 'Council of Ministers'" intimating that "megalomania and profligacy are again afoot in Transkei." Yet, while Holomisa is "saving the salaries of eight ministers by sacking them, President de Klerk is adding some hefty new packages to Pretoria's bulging payroll. Who's the bad boy then?"

BUSINESS DAY

Voluntary Land Transfer Preferable To Expropriation—"Of all the debates now targeted at shaping future policy in South Africa, few are as emotive as the land issue," declares Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 22 November in a page 8 editorial. The Development Bank publishes a "considered opinion which could satisfy a host of competing and conflicting demands, and white farmers jump up and down with anger." "A voluntary transfer of land and the sound establishment of small black farmers on viable plots are surely preferable to the sort of expropriation which can only lead to collective farms."

SOWETAN

RSA Responsibility for Homelands Debt—If South Africa is to assume responsibility for the 2 billion rand debts in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and Ciskei homelands should they be reincorporated in the Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 22 November in a page 8 editorial expresses its "total disgust at the entire homelands policy." "We have to pay for the cost also in the human suffering caused by stubborn National Party architects of apartheid."

* 'Open Schools' Requirement Entrenches Apartheid

9IAF0105C Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 14 Sep 90 p 16

[Editorial: "Open Schools"]

[Text] The so-called opening up of white schools to all races is a farce. One wonders why the Conservative Party rejects the idea, in view of the fact that it entrenches apartheid so well.

If you would like to have your children's school opened up because you believe in the cultural cross-pollination of a multiracial system, or perhaps simply want to improve their Zulu in order to prepare them for the "new South Africa," then you will have to foot the bill.

Not only this, you will have to launch a full-scale campaign in order to convince 72 percent of all other parents to open up the school. Such percentages are not even expected once the country's constitution is changed.

The new dispensation makes one of government's most important duties—seeing to the education of our children—a matter of rands and cents.

If you want to expand your child's vision and expose him to the idea that everyone belongs to just one race, the human race, then you will have to pay.

* Afrikaner Existence 'Endangered' by Black Power

9IAF0185B Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
11 Oct 90 p 3

[Text] Krugersdorp—Professor Carel Boshoff, chairman of the Afrikaner Volkswag [Sentry of the Afrikaner People], said yesterday at the Paardekraal Monument that the Afrikaner people must hold fast to their faith, their family, and their country if they wish to ensure their survival. He was one of the speakers at a gathering that was attended by about 400 people. According to Professor Boshoff, the Afrikaner has come to a T-junction on his path towards the future: He cannot go forward, and he must decide whether he wishes to go to the left or to the right. Just as our forefathers in the past, we must now make a choice for our people's survival, said Professor Boshoff. "Our country is being systematically engulfed by black people. Altogether 85 percent of the labor force is already black. We cannot have false expectations about our country's future—the country has become black," he said.

* Plastics, Chemicals Production Rises Sharply

9IAF0185A Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
8 Oct 90 p 1

[Text] This week Sentrachem successfully put into operation two key components of a 200-million rand expansion program designed to be the leading edge of a new growth phase for that chemical giant. At the Sasolburg plant of its Safripol Division, one of South Africa's largest suppliers of raw materials to the plastics processing industry, the production of high-density polyethylenes (HDPE) has been more than doubled to 140,000 tons annually, while its granulation capacity has been increased by 60,000 tons to 210,000 tons per year. This project is designed to supply the entire domestic demand for HDPE and will replace approximately 20,000 tons of imported material per year. The expansion will also make available significant quantities for export. Safripol's HDPE production already satisfies more than 25 percent of South Africa's total requirements for raw materials for plastics.

At the same time, Sentrachem's NCP [expansion unknown] Division brought the second phase of its chlorine-alkali plant at Chloorkop in the eastern outskirts of Johannesburg on line. This 73-million rand project boosted the plant's annual capacity from 50,000 to 75,000 tons of chlorine along with caustic soda and hydrogen which are produced as byproducts and which are sold in that form or are converted at Chloorkop into secondary products—including calcium hypochlorite, better known as the swimming pool purifier HTH. Safripol, which is a part of Sentrachem, has recently undertaken a number of large expansion projects. The production capacity of the HDPE installation at Sasolburg has been more than doubled to 140,000 tons per year. The plant's granulation capacity has been simultaneously increased by 60,000 tons to 210,000 tons per year.

Among the other important development projects that will become operational in the coming months are the following:

- A 43-million rand malic anhydride expansion project at Isipingo that will more than double NCP's annual production capacity to 10,000 tons. In this production field, it will be able to supply South Africa's entire demand for malic anhydride, which is used in the production of polyester and other resins, paint, and acids used in food processing. A considerable surplus will also be available for export.
- An expansion project at Safrapol for complex polypropylene that will more than double annual compounding capacity to 10,000 tons. This project, which is costing more than 15 million rands, is designed to increase Safrapol's flexibility in producing specialty grades of polypropylenes for use primarily in the manufacture of automobile components and garden furniture.
- Safrapol is also engaged in establishing—at a cost of 27 million rands—a polypropylene refining installation at the Sapref refinery in Durban. The new plant's production, which according to plan will go into operation in January 1991, will replace imports of about 15,000 tons per year.

* **NACTU Gives Status Report at Congress**

91AF0158A Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 5-11 Oct 90 p 19

[Text] The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) wrapped up its third biennial national congress last week and, in the process, dumped the right of its affiliates to act independently on policy matters, expelled three affiliates and re-elected a PAC (Pan Africanist Congress)-dominated executive.

Its decisions were not unexpected, given the political tensions that have divided the federation in the last year. Affiliates openly flouted decisions of the federation not to participate in the Conference for a Democratic Future (CDF), its long-serving general secretary, Phiroshaw Camay, and other head office staff resigned and allegations of political opportunism have abounded.

Membership slumped to below its inaugural congress figures and showed no signs of increasing until recently.

General secretary Cunningham Ngcukana says current figures stand at 244,000 paid-up members. This represents an increase of almost 100,000 in the space of less than a year. Camay estimated paid-up membership at around 150,000 in December 1989. The increase is dramatic by any measure. But is this the result of a more aggressive recruitment drive? While some affiliates have increased membership by significant amounts relative to their size, the most dramatic and controversial gain in new membership has come from its newest affiliate, Blatu (Black Trade Union), which claims to have 31,750 paid-up members.

This is largely a paper membership that was forced onto workers through a virtual closed shop on the railways.

Cosatu's (Congress of South African Trade Unions) SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (Sarhuw) has made substantial inroads in this area, gaining in excess of 45,000 members for whom it has submitted stop orders to bosses. Most of these workers were Blatu members.

With its credibility dented and its registration for Southern Natal withdrawn, Blatu—widely perceived as a sweetheart union—is not guaranteed a long life. Nactu's gain may therefore be temporary.

Other affiliates which have increased membership are the SA Chemical Workers' Union (Sacwu), which grew from 32,000 to 40,000; the Hotel Liquor and Catering Workers' Union, from 1,800 to 8,000; the Steel, Engineering and Allied Workers' Union, from 5,500 to 20,000 and the Transport and Allied Workers' Union, from 5,000 to 15,000.

It lost membership in the mining and construction sector by expelling the Black Allied, Mining and Construction Workers' Union (Bamcwu). Ngcukana says this was no great loss as it had a membership of only 6,000.

Although Ngcukana dismisses suggestions that the Black Consciousness orientated Bamcwu's expulsion was politically motivated, it is difficult to ignore the fact that it comes after the threat of disciplinary action against the expelled union. The Textile Workers' Union and the Black Domestic Workers' Association were also expelled.

Of the three, Bamcwu was most forthright in its defiance of the Nactu decision not to attend the CDF last year. But Nactu president James Mndaweni says Bamcwu was pardoned for its actions last year and the decision to expel it was motivated by its failure to pay its affiliation fees.

Ngcukana also points out that it would be wrong to characterise affiliates as political bases. It would therefore also be wrong to see the expulsion of the three affiliates in political terms and, he hastens to add, people are not elected onto the Nactu executive because of their political affiliations.

But there is little evidence to prove the contrary, unless the dominance of PAC supporters in the Nactu leadership is passed off as a mere coincidence.

Ngcukana would not comment on his political affiliation, saying ethical considerations do not allow him to do this. Mndaweni, however, readily confirms his PAC membership but chooses to neither confirm nor deny that Nactu's membership is PAC dominated.

Both Mndaweni and Ngcukana, however, point to their resolution on non-affiliation to political organisations.

The Nactu congress resolved "to co-operate with all political organisations within the policies and principles

of the federation." This includes the ANC [African Nation Congress] and formations aligned with the mass democratic movement, Ngcukana confirmed.

This position follows a resolution tabled by the biggest Nactu affiliate, Sacwu, which restricted contact with the New Unity Movement, Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] and the PAC. Mndaweni says Sacwu was persuaded to drop the proposal prior to congress.

Although the federation decided to remain politically non-aligned, this seems to be no more than a tactical decision. It has, for example, simply re-affirmed the PAC position in its resolution on negotiations, rejecting talks with the government and demanding a commitment to a non-racial constituent assembly as one of its preconditions.

In what is seen as a contradictory position to its earlier opposition to mass stayaways, Nactu resolved to work towards national protest action against the dismissal of its members at the Zebediela Citrus farm.

Ngcukana argues that there is no contradiction, saying that it opposed the Cosatu stayaway on the basis that it would result in the Natal violence spreading to the Transvaal.

He points out that the stayaway had provided the state with an opportunity to export the violence to the Reef.

Asked if the Nactu stayaway later this month will not amount to another opportunity to fuel conflict, Ngcukana says no. Nactu's stayaway, he points out, is aimed at highlighting the plight of farmworkers and not against Inkatha or the violence.

Notwithstanding its motivation for a stayaway and, given Inkatha's stated opposition to mass action like stayaways and consumer boycotts, Nactu will certainly come up against opposition from KwaZulu's ruling party.

Ngcukana, however, refused to say whether his federation would consult with Inkatha on the stayaway. He also refused to comment on whether Nactu would go ahead with the stayaway in the likely event of opposition from Inkatha. "We'll cross the bridge when we come to it," is all he was prepared to say.

In the meantime, whether the federation will manage to achieve some degree of political cohesion will be gauged by the successes it achieves at the level of merging its affiliates into industrial unions.

At the insistence of its metal affiliate, the Metal Workers' Union of SA (Mewusa), the federation set itself a six-month deadline within which to finalise all mergers. Previous attempts have failed and the Africanist-dominated Seawusa [expansion unknown] has stayed out of Mewusa, which is said to have a BC [Black Consciousness] orientation.

Mewusa spokesperson Zithulele Cindi is on record as saying that Nactu only allows mergers where it suits its

political objectives and where Africanists could dominate. Cindi would neither confirm nor deny the statement attributed to him.

* Launch of New Teachers Union Announced

*91AF0158F Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 12-18 Oct 90 p 19*

[Text] Another major force in the labour movement was launched into the formal ranks of the organised worker movement last weekend with the inauguration of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadtu).

The launch was the culmination of a process which started at a meeting in Harare in April 1988 between Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions], Sactu [South African Congress of Trade Unions] and various teacher associations from South Africa.

The meeting was necessitated by growing resistance on the education front, which confronted teachers with the option of either continuing in their traditional politically neutral roles or aligning themselves with the broader struggle against apartheid.

It was also during the struggles on the education front that an important realignment of forces occurred, with major teacher organisations withdrawing from racially-structured departmental subcommittees.

Although not affiliated to any major labour federation yet, Sadtu will no doubt make a significant impact at both a political and economic level of the trade union movement.

According to Sadtu vice-president Ronnie Swartz, the union will immediately move to engage the government in wage talks, now that the organisation has been launched.

But teachers have no collective bargaining rights and the union is likely to come up against resistance from the government at the level of wage demands. The demand to negotiate wages, however, follows a number of strikes and go-slows in the teaching profession and the government has already met at a national level with the teacher organisation.

The longer-term challenges facing the union are, however, more of an organisational nature. Sadtu has indicated that it will spend the next year consolidating its structures and building branches. This is not expected to be an easy task, given that it will have to merge a range of organisational traditions and cultures.

Among the associations that have agreed to form Sadtu are, for example, the Indian Teachers' Association of South Africa (Tasa), which has a history of conservatism. This conservatism has also been a feature of the older African and "coloured" associations.

These have all agreed to dissolve their structures during the next year and merge with some of the militant

teacher groupings, including the Democratic Teachers' Union (Detu), the Western Cape Teachers' Union (Wectu) and the National Education Union of South Africa (Neusa).

Members of these unions have, in the last year, embarked on strikes, which, in some cases, have turned into protracted struggles.

While all the groups have committed themselves to dissolving their structures, the possibility that conservative elements would leave their associations as the mergers are consolidated cannot be ruled out.

But Swartz says the numbers will not be significant. He points out that the union will have to, through its campaigns around wages and working conditions, prove to its members that they have common interests around these issues.

More important, though, is the need for teachers to accept that their common needs represent a strong uniting factor, irrespective of their political differences. Swartz says teachers have already recognised that their needs are the same. "This is why we've seen teachers being prepared to take action in recent months," he explains.

Swartz says there are also political issues that need to be addressed, namely, the scrapping of a segregated educational system, equalisation of educational expenditure for all and the implementation of a democratic and relevant curriculum.

Asked if its political campaigns might not prompt conservative elements in the organisation to leave, Swartz said this was possible. However, he believed teachers would recognise the value of the campaigns in time and stay with the union.

While the union will campaign vigorously for a deracialised education system, it will remain politically and organisationally non-aligned. Affiliation to a trade union federation may only be tabled at its first national congress next year. The issue, nevertheless, remains sensitive.

Already, one of the associations involved in unity talks at the level of the National Teachers' Unity Forum (NTUF), the Transvaal Union of African Teachers' Association (Tuata), has decided not to be part of Sadtu.

According to Swartz, Tuata's reason for not joining is based on the claim that Sadtu was too close to Cosatu. Tuata has a membership of more than 20,000.

However, the African Teachers' Association of SA (Atasa), of which Tuata is an affiliate, has agreed to dissolve its structures and merge with other groups into Sadtu. This will leave Tuata unaffiliated, and it is not yet clear for how long it will remain independent.

Sadtu already has a rival in the form of the National teachers' Union of South Africa (Natusa). This is not

expected to pose any serious challenge to the 100,000-strong Sadtu, given the fact that Natusa remains relatively small and is made up mainly of disaffected teachers who are said to have joined because they wish to remain politically non-aligned.

While Nactu claims to have about 20,000 members in Natusa, this is disputed by Sadtu, which points out that the union was launched under highly secretive conditions.

Nactu's explanation that it has attracted members who wish to remain politically non-aligned runs into problems when examined against the background of its predominantly PAC-[Pan-Africanist Congress] and black consciousness-orientated membership and leadership.

One of the most important questions that need consideration is how the affiliation of a union of professionals will impact on a federation like Cosatu, which has a predominantly unskilled membership.

Swartz thinks it unlikely that teachers will dominate in any way, simply because of their skilled positions. He points out that, despite their professional status, many teachers still earn R700 [rands] and below and would therefore easily identify themselves with the struggle of the rest of Cosatu's membership.

* Rightwingers Claim Land in 'Third Republic'

9IAF0185C Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans
8 Oct 90 p 2

[Article by Jan Taljaard: "FW Must 'Keep His Paws Off,' ET Warns"]

[Text] Mr. Eugene Terreblanche, leader of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement [AWB], proclaimed the beginning of the Second Rebellion and the advent of the Third Republic yesterday at a gathering in Vereeniging. In a particularly fiery speech, Mr. Terreblanche said that the AWB would not accept the outcome of a future referendum, but would indeed claim the territory where the right-wing vote was in the majority. Mr. Terreblanche thereupon warned President F.W. de Klerk to keep "his paws" off the territory gained in such a manner.

He further warned about "much blood" that would flow and threatened that the AWB would totally destroy the ANC [African National Congress]. "Today, 10 October, is the beginning of the Second Rebellion and the advent of the Third Republic." Referring to the approximately 400 members of the AWB Commando who had marched through the streets of Vereeniging earlier in the day, Mr. Terreblanche said that it was the first time that the Boer had picked up his weapon where he had formerly laid it down. The Commando members had earlier placed a wreath at the monument commemorating the Peace of Vereeniging and the Second Boer War.

"We will fight the ANC by every possible means. The AWB will never accept the outcome of a referendum. If there is a referendum instead of an election, then we

demand our own state in the areas that are won by a referendum," he said. "We did not march this morning to look pretty for ourselves, rather we marched on the path to freedom and the Third Republic. Adriaan Vlok will whine again tomorrow about the members of our Commando, but I want to tell him right now that if the ANC wants war, then it will get war, and we will level it to the ground." Moreover, he referred to a meeting he had had with Mr. Vlok, Minister of Law & Order, in which Mr. Vlok had said that the AWB's actions and the members of its Commando will lead to bloodshed. "I am damned happy that you (Minister Vlok) know what the members of the AWB Commando mean. There can be only bloodshed if the ANC seizes the country. Yes, then there will be blood—not my blood, but their blood!" he said to the loud acclaim of the approximately 700 people present.

Mr. Jaap Marais, head of the HNP [Reformed National Party], said at the same function that the present state of affairs is not irreversible because there are numerous examples in the Afrikaner's history of irreversible circumstances being reversed. Mr. Servaas de Wet, commandant-general of the Commando, swore to those present that he would not take off his uniform again until the Boer was once again boss in his own country.

NACTU Leader Discusses Trade Unions, PAC

91AF0158B Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 12-18 Oct 90 p 5

[Interview with NACTU (National Council of Trade Unions) Secretary General Cunningham Ngcukana; date and place not given]

[Text] The re-emergence of trade unions in South Africa in the 1970s added more power to the liberation movement. But questions about their future role, particularly after liberation, remain.

Will they be able to represent workers the way they do today?

THE NEW NATION discussed this with one of the country's leading trade unionists, Cunningham Ngcukana, 30, the general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu) and an activist since childhood.

Ngcukana was born in Johannesburg and brought up and educated in the Eastern Cape.

Ngcukana's route to trade unionism started during his university days and as a worker and PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] activist. He is believed to have made a key contribution to the re-emergence of the PAC in the 1980s.

[THE NEW NATION] How did you come to join the trade union movement?

[Ngcukana] I first worked at Baragwanath Hospital, but I left before completing a year because of racism. My salary was very small compared to my white colleagues, who had the same education and did the same job as I.

At the same time, I joined the underground structures of the PAC as one of its cadres.

I then went to work for a German company, where I found underpayment of workers and abuse of black workers through the pass laws, racism and other mal-practices.

I got into contact with the Black Allied Workers' Union and I tried to recruit workers.

A lot of pressure was put on me by the bosses. I had to leave the company because even the workers had been influenced to regard me as someone who did not wish them well.

I returned to Fort Hare, where I was expelled with many of my comrades when we protested against the appointment of Lennox Sebe as chancellor.

The expulsion for me meant I went back to the struggle and to the trade union movement.

My view was that the trade union movement was to be the centre and the core for organised resistance against the regime and to prepare the working class to take its place in the liberation struggle.

I was in the unity talks among various trade unions in 1985 and, today, when I reflect on the past, I feel that it was an opportunity lost due to a lack of political maturity, vision and tolerance.

[THE NEW NATION] How do you see the future of the trade unions under a future people's government?

[Ngcukana] While I agree that trade unions, in other countries, have deviated from their role after liberation, I believe that the South African situation is a different one, because of the very nature of the struggle of the trade union movement.

I believe that the trade union movement should retain its independence from political parties, but still be able to make political decisions. At the same time, it should reserve the right to enter into any alliance with any political organisation in the context of the liberation struggle.

What is dangerous is a situation where a trade union leader holds a leadership position in a political party.

[THE NEW NATION] Do you see this happening in South Africa?

[Ngcukana] Yes, it is happening. But I think that, with time, this is going to fall away. The trade unions should reserve the right to differ with political parties on certain issues. But this is difficult if their leaders are also leaders of those political parties.

This does not mean that leaders of trade unions should not belong to political parties. But it is possible that we will in future become separated from political parties. Our unions are democratic institutions that will be able to decide what is right and what is wrong.

The future government needs to guarantee the independence of the trade unions in its constitution.

[NEW NATION] Some argue that, given the weakness of the economies of our neighbouring countries, their people could be used to replace South African workers, who refuse to accept poor wages. This could weaken the labour movement. What is our opinion on this?

[Ngcukana] Yes, there is that possibility. But I believe the trade unions should work for a platform whereby they will be able to discuss with the government and the employers questions such as foreign investment, foreign labour and other issues.

We discussed this question, not long ago, in Geneva with the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordinating Council. We agreed that we should have further discussions about this, because it is a very sensitive political issue.

The sacrifices and contribution of the Frontline states to our liberation are of great recognition.

This is a question that we need to address as the Southern African region.

[NEW NATION] Do you see the possibility of unity between Nactu [National Council of Trade Unions] and Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions]?

[Ngcukana] I do see it, but I believe that unity must first be forged in action. If Cosatu and Nactu continue to work together on issues of common interest for the working class, they will develop trust and confidence and this could help the prospects for unity.

If we continue to move in this way, I believe we will reach a stage where we will be able to establish whether our ideological differences have been brought about by the impact of political organisations in our federations or are in the interests of the working class.

[NEW NATION] What is your opinion on the ANC/SACP/Cosatu [African National Congress/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance?

[Ngcukana] Alliances are very important in a liberation struggle. But one can not call an alliance that between people who hold the same idea and are in agreement with each other.

An alliance should be between people who have differences, but are looking for common ground.

My concern is that the whole democratic movement should find consensus among themselves and find a common democratic platform of operation, despite the differences in ideologies.

[NEW NATION] It has been said that you have played a leading role in the re-emergence of the PAC in the country. Is this true?

[Ngcukana] Yes, I can not deny this. I played a role in ensuring that the PAC re-emerges inside the country as a mass political organisation.

However, I have been careful in doing that, because I do not want that to affect the independence of my union.

[NEW NATION] How do you see the PAC moving to a new South Africa?

[Ngcukana] I think that every organisation has now accepted that, one way or the other, the South African political situation will have to be debated at the negotiating table. What remains now are differences on the conditions for organisations to enter the process of negotiations.

What I see is, perhaps, that the PAC will eventually enter the process, but I would not say at what point.

What is being discussed internally, I, as a member of the PAC, am not prepared to divulge. I would say that the problem would be to find consensus among political organisations.

[NEW NATION] Who do you regard as your political heroes in South Africa's history?

[Ngcukana] I admire people like Walter Sisulu, Robert Sobukwe and Zeph Mothopeng. But my best hero has been John Nyathi Phukela. He has been able to put the PAC together and put it on track. I believe he has made the PAC what it is today.

[NEW NATION] What is your impression of the media in South Africa?

[Ngcukana] I believe the media is playing a very irresponsible role at a critical time in the country's political history.

The media does not encourage tolerance among people of different ideologies. It does not encourage the principles of freedom of association. It does not encourage opposing political views to be heard.

My understanding is that the media has a very important role in society as a source of information. And the South African media has, unfortunately, not handled that role with the sensitivity that it deserves.

* Academic Analyzes ANC Economic Document

91AF0158D Johannesburg THE NEW NATION
in English 5-11 Oct 90 p 6

[Article by David Lazar, Research Associate, African Studies Institute, Wits University]

[Text] The ANC's [African National Congress'] new economic document is an important step in the development of a viable set of economic, social and development policies to guide a future democratic government.

There is much of value in the document and a great deal which I personally agree with, both in terms of the goals sought and the means chosen to achieve these goals.

For example, comments about the critical importance of policies to improve the infrastructure of impoverished areas must be welcomed. Similarly, discussion of affirmative action policies for women and black people is essential. Furthermore, the positive attitude to locally-based ventures and self-help schemes is praiseworthy. The retreat from aspects of the April Harare conference document, which gave the central state too great a role and advocated nationalisation as "an essential part of the reconstruction programme," is particularly pleasing.

However, major problems are still apparent:

- the issues regarding nationalisation and the setting up of new state-owned firms are not adequately handled;
- the continuing vagueness concerning the likely costs of proposed expenditures necessary to meet basic needs in relation to likely available funds;
- the unrealistic insistence on economic self-sufficiency for the South African economy;
- the cursory treatment of markets;
- the insufficient attention to stratification among the black population; and
- the failure to break with discredited statist doctrines;

The new document—and this is certainly a step forward—is being presented to the media as being less concerned with nationalisation. However, there are still a number of worrying remarks about both potential nationalisation and the setting up of new state-owned firms. Statements of this kind appear:

- in relation to mining finance houses, where it is noted that "consideration would have to be given to the nature and extent of state intervention and ownership" (my emphasis);
- in the section on the financial sector, where the possibility of new state-owned financial institutions is raised;
- in discussion of "strategic enterprises," which may be purchased if necessary; and
- in the commitment to renationalise privatised corporations;

There is no confrontation with the evidence and arguments which make many of us doubtful about the effectiveness of even greater state ownership. It is essential that the ANC comes to terms with the multiple failures of socialist economies, which have not, despite high proportions of state ownership and elaborate plans, delivered satisfactory living standards to their people.

Furthermore, statist policies—that is, an over-estimate of what a central state can successfully undertake—are associated with the repression of criticism and with an indifference towards the empowerment of ordinary citizens.

Added to this, an extension of an already enormous state sector will cost incredible sums of money, which will

simply not be available. The finance on hand will generally be far better spent on building houses, training better qualified teachers, building storm drains and sewers, providing electricity supply and installing safe water supplies, to mention some examples.

The vital issue of costs has relevance not just to potential nationalisation but also to proposals for a "massive injection of finance" to meet the basic needs of the impoverished black people of South Africa. These needs must undoubtedly be the key concern of a democratic government.

We must, however, ask some very hard-headed questions. How much money will be available for economic, social and educational programmes? Which basic needs will be given priority? What are the particular policies which will be needed to meet specific needs? What is the likely cost of each policy and of an overall ANC programme? What is the probable time-scale of each policy?

The document fails to deal with the requirement that policies be costed in relation to the likely resources. What is more, the ANC must not necessarily assume a "best case" development: contingency plans should make provision for disappointments as well as successes. Statements about a "post-apartheid dividend" and reallocation of current expenditures must be justified in precise terms. What is more, we must consider whether the dismantling of apartheid will cost more money in the early years than it yields.

The document also harks after economic self-sufficiency in a manner reminiscent of schemes for "socialism in one country," despite recognising at one point that it is necessary to adopt "strategies to reintegrate South Africa into the world economy on a competitive basis." I am referring here to the notion that "the main emphasis in financing the reconstruction of the mixed economy should be placed on domestic savings" and what appears to be the intention of trapping domestic savings inside the country.

The ANC has to accept that investment flows will be two-way: a democratic government should aim to make South Africa an attractive place to invest both for domestic and international investors. This aim does not entail a passive attitude to investment but it, rather, implies a need to use effective incentives rather than restrictive controls.

The issue of markets is, as is too often the case in ANC documents, discussed in an unsatisfactory manner.

The document fails to discuss in specific terms what role markets will play and over-concentrates attention on the role of the public sector.

The ANC should be trying to develop a market-led mixed economy in which the state is not afraid to judiciously intervene where necessary and where the intention will be to develop partnership with private capital rather than asserting control over it.

The document should also have dealt systematically with the major issue of stratification and class relations within the black population. I refer here to the existence of levels of dispossession within the black population.

The organized, urban working class are not the most dispossessed. For the squatters without jobs or proper homes, however miserable these jobs and houses may normally be, for the peri-urban and rural poor in the Bantustans and elsewhere, the lives of the urban township working class are a matter of envy. How does the ANC intend to deal with this fact of levels of dispossession, given that the peri-urban and rural populations are barely, if at all, organised? Land reform will not be enough in itself.

ANC policy must be based on a practical commitment to develop all areas of society on the basis of partnership with all South Africa's citizens.

Overall, the document does not break completely with old-style statist socialist doctrines. For the ANC and any democratic government, the prime issue should be whether policies work, both in the sense of yielding real improvements, however modest, in the living standards of the poorest South Africans and in the power they wield over their immediate environment.

It is this issue of empowering ordinary people which must be at the heart of the strategy of a new, democratic government. Democratisation of formal organs of government and appropriate interventions can provide people with the means to, and the framework within which they can, help themselves. This kind of approach will base the new democracy not just on periodic elections to formal institutions but on a real growth of power of citizens over their everyday lives.

* Development, Change in Afrikaner Role Examined

91AF0185D Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans Oct 90 p 3

[Review by Max du Preez, VRYE WEEKBLAD editor, of book "Baanbrekers vir Vryheid" (Trailblazers for Freedom) by P.J. Cillie, Tafelberg]

[Text] Piet Cillie was my first editor. As a 23-year-old cub reporter, he was unquestionably my role model. I still remember how one day he dressed down a young colleague who called himself a journalist. A lot of water has to flow under the bridge yet before you are a journalist, my friend was told. And my big aim was to become a great journalist one day too. Almost like Piet Cillie—but not quite, because at the time Piet Cillie was not only a journalist, but also a philosopher and prophet in our book. We sat at his feet and gathered the crumbs of his wisdom and feasted on them for weeks.

As young reporters for DIE BURGER we were intensely proud to be working for him, particularly on those occasions when he laid into the National Party establishment a bit. That made us feel good—somewhat as if we were

standing together in the vanguard of innovative thinking. It took me a year or so—as a result of the Soweto disturbances and a session in the parliamentary press gallery—to finally realize: This prophet's cloak is moth-eaten. From then on I began to look at Piet Cillie—the Great Cape Verligte [enlightened thinker], the Boer maverick who calls prime ministers by their first names, the preposterous, intellectual Boer guru and wine connoisseur of Dead End Street—through different eyes.

And the more I as a young reporter—later journalist—read and listened to Piet Cillie, the worse it got. Especially in regard to general elections, when all pretense of independent thought gave way to the Great Toadyism. The Guru's hide burst open and out popped the Sycophant.

All of this is merely to be honest about the fact that I did not start to read this just-published anthology of pieces by Cillie in an exactly impartial manner or with an open mind. For the purposes of this review, however, I tried all the same.

The first essay is an article that Cillie wrote for STANDPUNTE in 1963. In his preface, he explains that in these early pieces he is "reflecting something of the evolution of Afrikaner thinking since the 1960's." The rest, he says, "reflect a more urgent vision of reform in the critically important 1980's." Not that one would suspect this otherwise. Nonetheless, let us leaf through the first essays. And Piet writes beautifully, you know, and so recklessly! "The direct domination of one people over another—the direct domination by strangers—can no longer be justified in our age... Peoples must rule themselves despite however backward they may be because the worst self-rule is regarded as better than the best rule by others." And: "The Afrikaners really should be the last people to oppose in principle this idea of national freedom and the liquidation of colonialism. In Africa, the Boers were the trailblazers for anticolonialism." There are still more gems: "We know from our own history that a people worth its salt will never resign itself to an alien government, and because we know this, we do not really have the heart to try [sic]. A policy of oppression is impossible for a government of Afrikaners..."

And then he chastizes his people: "We wanted to be a nation free of alien bonds, but as we loosened more and more the bonds of British overseas domination as well as those of settler domination, we allowed ourselves to be bound all the more tightly by other alien bonds. I mean the bonds of alien labor: black labor..." Then Piet suddenly conjures up the bogeyman of integration: "It seeks to sell out an already developed, free nation—a reality that the colonialist and liberalist does not strongly sense—to a different kind of alien domination." (Meaning here black South Africans, for those who misunderstand this. A little bit further along he says that Afrikaners have concluded in their hearts "that the Bantu masses, from the perspective of our essential nationhood, are aliens." Off to the homelands with you.)

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

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(One piece that I would have liked to read but which the editor of the volume omitted for inexplicable reasons is what Piet Cillie had to say in those years about the expulsion of the colored people from District Six.) Some 13 years later, Piet wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES of 12 December 1976: "...The only option seems to be territorial separation [sic] of peoples, each one growing to political maturity, autonomy and freedom in its own part of a commonwealth or confederation of South Africa" [quoted in English]. In November 1981, he wrote in the WALL STREET JOURNAL (the third essay): "The partitioning concept has not worked out as visualised, but only partially and imperfectly, mainly on account of economic forces beyond effective political control" [quoted in English].

Towards the end of 1985, he wrote in DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN: "Because of his history, the Afrikaner must learn perhaps the toughest lesson of all: Acceptance of the view that South Africa is not, nor can it be, just his promised land, but that he will increasingly have to share freedoms, rights, responsibilities, and power with other ethnic groups." In an address in 1986 Cillie lamented: "And now it is the Afrikaner's tragedy that he, who viewed himself in his history as the foremost freedom-fighter, and who at one time was regarded as such throughout the entire Western world, today stands stripped naked of that honorable appellation. It was taken away from him by communists and other leftists—even by the descendants of his own oppressors and persecutors." (A person almost feels like saying: Oh Lord, shame.)

Late in 1986, Cillie had begun to confess: "We truly believed in that vision of peaceful partition and a kind of idealized Europe with each people in its own state. It temporarily satisfied the Afrikaner's hopes." On the last page of the book he begins to wonder: "Must man, one biological species but with countless variations, continue to blindly strive in centrifugal ethnic conflicts for stability and security through centripetal extermination and domination? Or can he find forms of bonding in which ethnic diversity will show its best aspects without self-destructive conflict?" And then the prophet's final words are simply: "We ought to know that there are mortal dangers on either side. We are walking a tightrope."

Prophet? No way. Prophets have vision. Philosopher? Naaah. He liked to hang about the corridors of power too much, sort of basking in the soothing warmth of Cape Afrikaner chauvinism—the court jester of the Afrikaner establishment's pseudo-intellectuals, if one wishes to be really nasty to him now. But my mother taught me to have respect for old people. Piet Cillie is an intelligent analyst of history who has participated as a journalist and actor in important episodes of our country's history. He can write well.

Now why am I so critical? Because Piet Cillie is for me a symbol of people with sharp pens and glib tongues who, with their many long years of feigned "enlightened thinking," have done more harm than good to the ethnic

community of which I am a member. It was they who, with the appearance of intellectual—even moral—credibility and audacity, had countless good people continue to cling to the "laer" [the "laager" of Afrikaner supremacy] with the pretty little countenance they put on white domination and oppression. Those who fought petty apartheid on white horses with sharp swords while defending grand apartheid with their lives. And those who, with amazing dexterity at that, afterwards still kept the teeth of the Great Crocodile gleaming bright—only to shamelessly abandon it later, belly-up, somewhere near the sea.

It is poetic justice that it takes a Vaal River boy from Potchefstroom to lead us out of that dreamland to true freedom and democracy where we regard the "alien Bantus" as full compatriots. At least this book, with its terribly boring dust jacket, was good for my low blood pressure. Go ahead and read it.

* Right-Wing Activists Choose Martyr Role

91AF0105A Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 14 Sep 90 p 5

[Article by Christelle de Jager: "The Psyche of Right-Wing Terrorists"; first paragraph is VRYE WEEKBLAD introduction]

[Text] Steve Biko became a martyr when he died while in police custody. This week, very few whites commemorated his death 13 years ago. However, Piet "Skiet" Rudolph remembers, and is already talking about the whites' counterparts, the "Boer Biko's." What lies behind the phenomenon of martyrdom? Christelle de Jager reports.

Joan of Arc, Jopie Fourie, Steve Biko, Bobby Sands... Those four people all have one thing in common. They are known as martyrs who died for a cause in which they believed.

And now, the fugitive leader of the Boer State Party, Piet Rudolph, says that the "Boer Biko's, whom we need for encouragement as well," will come.

And he salutes the "young heroes who will have to suffer martyrdom for their cause."

Is there a new generation of Boer martyrs emerging? And what would motivate people to die for a cause like the survival of the "Boer nation"?

There is no particular personality type that will be willing to die for an ideal, says a clinical psychologist, whose name cannot be disclosed for professional reasons.

The nature of martyrdom can change from situation to situation, but there are indeed certain general factors and correspondences that can be observed.

There are always very strong feelings about the cause, and martyrdom takes place primarily in a political

context where there are strong emotions and where physical conflict and violence prevail.

In most cases, the potential martyr identifies strongly with his political cause. If this cause fails, his entire identity is lost, and he may as well be dead. The willingness to die for the cause is thus a natural consequence of this.

In South Africa, the foundation for the emergence of this type of martyr was laid by the fact that young, white Afrikaners grew up with the idea that they are white and the master. The weak personality's identity is based on white supremacy. Suddenly, they realize that this will no longer be the case, and they find this terrifying.

The clinical psychologist says that people then become heroes for the cause in order to preserve their self-respect. Being a hero makes them feel clever and capable.

Piet "Skiet" Rudolph is a good example of this character type, she says.

In Rudolph's view, if the Boer nation has no future, then he loses everything for which he stands as a human being. Other people can perhaps support a cause, but if they see it fail they will be able to adjust. The Piet Skiets among us would rather die.

The romanticizing of heroes and a preference for sensation also contribute a great deal to the creation of martyrs, especially among those who feel incompetent or have weak personalities and want to see themselves in that role in order to compensate. Barend Strydom is a good example, according to the psychologist.

However, she warns that one cannot generalize by saying that martyrs in all cases have weak personalities. History is full of strong and capable people. Steve Biko is one name that can be noted here.

Martyrdom is also clearly not the same thing across the entire political spectrum. This can be seen very well in South Africa.

On the left wing, there have been many young people willing to die for the struggle. They have fought for their cause from a position of oppression.

They had nothing to lose. Things could not have been worse, and to die has been regarded as an investment in a better future for your people.

The right-wingers are in turn fighting from a dominant position. They feel that they have everything to lose, and are determined not to do so.

A psychologist and academician from Natal, whose name also cannot be disclosed, says that the concept of martyrdom gives people a false perception of who they are.

People think that they will achieve a special, almost holy status through their sacrifice for the cause, and this is also in fact how the followers of a cause think of their heroes and martyrs.

A vicious cycle emerges in which the potential martyrs receive precisely the sort of psychological encouragement that they want. Sacrifices bring new sacrifices.

Many right-wingers will never acknowledge their feelings—that they feel very threatened by and fearful of the future. Martyrdom offers an expression of these hidden feelings.

It is this play between hidden feelings and the symbolic expression of them that makes people much more dangerous. If you believe that firmly in a cause and are willing to die for it, then you will do anything, he says. Just think of the Japanese kamikaze fliers during the Second World War and the terrorists who intentionally die in car bombs in Lebanon.

He says that all of them have an underlying psychological need for a sort of rampant boastfulness, which can be observed in the behavior patterns of children at an early stage of development, for example in their games.

Most people will outgrow this and work through it, but if someone feels threatened and oppressed as a person, these characteristics can make a strong reemergence.

This is applicable in South Africa, especially right now, he stresses. The faster political change occurs, the more threatened and fearful rightist-oriented Afrikaners feel, and the more the martyr syndrome will emerge.

The psychologist points out that the same thing happens when people go to war for their country.

This form of martyrdom is exploited by governments. Thus, the South African government created "red conspiracies" in order to convince young boys of how important it is for them to fight for their country.

Afrikaner mothers whose sons have died at the border console themselves with the notion that their children have died for their country.

Lloyd Vogelman, director of the Project for the Study of Violence at Wits University, believes that South Africa is looking at an entirely new generation of heroes.

He says that political martyrdom occurs when people feel that they have no alternative. The future seems unbearable, and it appears impossible that a solution will be found.

The martyr always wants approval from others, and believes that he will get it by submitting to the greatest test for the cause. And if his leader and "great hero" gives him approval, this will further encourage him to sacrifice everything.

Piet Skiet's attitude in the letter to VRYE WEEKBLAD in which he "salutes the young heroes who will have to suffer martyrdom for their cause" is significant in this regard, says Vogelman.

He says that martyrdom is often linked to religion and that this often has a significant influence on the willingness to die for the cause.

It is firmly believed that God is on your side and that you are thus doing the right thing by fighting for the cause. Consequently, dying for the cause will earn God's approval and thus ensure immortality.

*** New Unity Movement Opposes Negotiations**

9IAF0158C Johannesburg *THE NEW NATION*
in English 5-11 Oct 90 p 5

[Interview with New Unity Movement President Richard Dudley; date and place not given]

[Text] Negotiations for a new South Africa have become the topic of daily talk in various spheres of life.

The government believes that the process of change is "irreversible" while its counterparts in the liberation movement have a contrary view. Other anti-apartheid formations say negotiations are not a route to freedom.

NEW NATION spoke to Richard Dudley, the president of the New Unity Movement (NUM), which regards talks with the government as "collaboration."

The NUM was launched in December 1945 as a result of efforts by the All-African convention, the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department Movement, the African People's Organisation, teacher organisations, civic organisations and students' fellowships.

The movement kicked off with a program called the "Ten Point Program of Fundamental Democratic Rights" and, according to Dudley, it elaborated a policy of "non-collaboration" along with the concept of "building one nation in SA [Republic of South Africa]."

Dudley says that, despite the lack of support for his movement, he was proud because most NUM members were highly-trained activists in the policy of the movement.

[NEW NATION] What are the major differences between the NUM and the ANC [African National Congress] and its allies?

[Dudley] The first one is that the Ten Point Program of the NUM is a minimum one. This means that the fundamental democratic rights set out in that program are regarded as a single package.

As we understand it, the program of the ANC as spelt out in the Freedom Charter is not a minimum one and that is why the leadership of the ANC are now able to say that everything is negotiable.

[NEW NATION] You share a number of views with the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. Do you agree with them on all points?

[Dudley] There are, of course, certain things on which we agree. They have also expressed the ideas of non-collaboration and fundamental changes in the economy of the country.

However, we feel that the basic philosophy of the PAC is very different from that of the NUM.

We believe in non-racialism, while the PAC's philosophy derives from the ideas of Robert Sobukwe and others, which lays an emphasis on Africanist thinking.

[NEW NATION] Why do you regard negotiations as collaboration?

[Dudley] I understand that people would find it difficult to understand this at this stage.

Our understanding, and we believe that, not long from now, the oppressed people of this country will see that negotiation is just a nice word for a process whereby the ruling class hopes to secure the co-operation of the people and continue to perpetuate domination.

In that way, the direction and bases of the future South Africa will be defined by the ruling class, and people will simply be asked in one way or another to set their own agendas into the system's. And that is collaboration.

[NEW NATION] What then is your alternative to negotiations?

[Dudley] Firstly, the resolution of the problems in this country is going to be a very difficult task.

We believe that the only way to be frank to our people is to tell the people that, unless they build up their organisation with their independent ideology, they will not be able to prevail against the policies of divide and rule that are built into the process of negotiations.

As long as that independence does not promote the growth of national unity and, as long as the ideologies to which people subscribe stand in the way of building national unity, we will not be in a position to expect the kind of power to determine for ourselves and the rest of South Africa a program of genuine democratic transformation of the society.

The organizations of the oppressed in the country are too divided and weak to succeed in reaching what people earnestly desire.

[NEW NATION] Suppose this process of negotiations culminates in the election of a government that earns the support of the majority of the people, what would your reaction be?

[Dudley] First of all, we believe that no such government can be elected through this negotiation process.

If a government is elected as a result of these negotiations, we will be in the position of an opposition.

Our task then would be to point out to people that they have gone on the wrong road.

People are so optimistic because they do not foresee the way ahead.

[NEW NATION] Do you believe that you have enough support to stand against a non-racially and democratically elected government?

[Dudley] We believe that the people will only call it victory when a constituent assembly has been elected and only this will represent a truly democratically-elected government.

If a constituent assembly will be elected, we will definitely be part of that. And, if we will not be part of the majority, we will be part of an opposition.

[NEW NATION] The ANC and its allies also advocate a constituent assembly. But you cannot reach this without convincing the rulers through open debate. What is wrong with this?

[Dudley] I think it would be a contradiction in terms. I do not think that the present government will ever call a constituent assembly, because that would mean that the existing power structures in the country would have to be brought to an end.

We think that, when the demand for a constituent assembly is presented to the present government, it is presented at the wrong door.

We believe that a constituent assembly will be called by the people themselves, on the eve of the victory over the existing order.

[NEW NATION] Are you referring to a situation like the October Revolution in Russia when you talk about the "eve of the victory?"

[Dudley] It is difficult to say and one has to be extremely cautious in this regard. Nobody, I think, looks forward to violence as an option to be preferred to peace; but it is very difficult to say what is going to happen for people to overthrow the present order.

* Boers' Human Dignity 'Violated' by History

91AF0105B Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 14 Sep 90 p 16

[“Abridged” letter to the editor by Schalk Jacobsz of Braamfontein: “Boer Nation’s Human Dignity Assailed”]

[Text] The Sand River Convention, which recognized the Transvalers’ independence, was concluded with the “emigrant Boers” north of the Vaal River. On the bronze plate located at the Sand River Monument, reference is made to the “Boer emigrants.” The residents of the Republic are thus identified as Boers, not as “South Africans” or “Afrikaners.”

The Anglo-Boer War was forced on the Kruger government by the British with the aim of gaining control over the gold mines. A conspiracy to declare war against a nation of people is a punishable crime under international law. The way in which that war was waged and the subsequent administration of the Boer republics are defined today as genocide under the Genocide Convention as adopted by the United Nations on 9 December 1948.

Forcing people of so many different races, languages, and cultures together into a unified state is tantamount to genocide under the terms of the UN Genocide Convention of 1948.

Clause 7 of the Peace Treaty of Vereeniging reserved the right to ultimate self-government for the two republics. The purport of Clause 8 was that the question of black suffrage should be considered only after the recognition of self-government for Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The outstanding obligation with regard to this treaty was automatically transferred on 31 May 1910 to the Union government and from there to the RSA [Republic of South Africa] government on 31 May 1961. Thus, this peace treaty has already been violated!

The constitution of the Union of South Africa was originally drafted by Alfred Milner and his Kindergarten. It was adopted by a convention in which only seven of the 36 delegates represented the Boer nation. The rest were colonists and war criminals.

The Boer nation lives in the Orange Free State and Transvaal because the settlers chose to occupy an unpopulated wilderness rather than take up arms against the Cape government. The others—including Afrikaners and the English—live here now because the area’s riches were discovered.

In light of this, the remark in your recent editorial concerning the recognition of a “small Boer state in a sparsely populated part of the country” is a criminal assault on the human dignity of the Boer nation.

For the past 80 years, politicians have attempted to band the whites in South Africa into a single nation. They have not even been able to make the Boers and the Afrikaners into one nation.

If people of the same race who speak the same language cannot be unified simply because of a difference in historical perspective, what chance is there of forging people of different races, languages, and historical perspectives into one nation?

In its report on human rights, the Law Commission stated that only the individual’s rights can be protected by a human rights statute. It is impossible to protect group rights in this way.

There is only one way to protect group rights—a division of territory based on the European model. Give us back our land by making the Boer areas independent of the RSA. And a proposal with respect to the RSA: Go back to the development of sovereign national states, but on the old Orange Free State model, and this time give the black groups the strategic minerals that they deserve.

Angola**Portugal Says Cease-Fire Agreement 'Close'**

*MB2111155490 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[Text] Portuguese Secretary of State For Foreign Affairs Mr. Manuel Durao Barroso says that the Angolan Government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] movement are close to an agreement on the terms of a cease-fire.

Addressing a news conference after the conclusion of the fifth round of peace talks between the Angolan government and UNITA, Mr. Barroso said that the two sides have achieved consensus on 80 percent of an agreement providing for an end to Angola's 15-year-old civil war.

Mr. Barroso, who is mediating in the negotiations, said that considerable progress had been made, and that both sides had agreed on the need for a single army. He said that a sixth round of talks was scheduled to be held before the end of January.

In the meantime the leader of UNITA, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, has said that his movement will adopt a more compromising attitude at the next round of peace talks in January next year. Dr. Savimbi said this during a meeting with the Portuguese prime minister, Mr. Anibal Cavaco Silva.

In a later development, reports from Lisbon say that senior Soviet and American officials have pointed out that negotiations between the Super Powers are under way over the ending of military aid to both UNITA and the Angolan Government.

Dos Santos Receives Senegalese, Brazilian Envoys

*MB2311083590 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 23 Nov 90*

[Text] A message from Senegalese President Abdou Diouf was delivered yesterday to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. The message, which deals with President Diouf's efforts to establish peace in Angola and strengthen friendship between the peoples of the two countries, was delivered by (Pierre Cocco), the leader of Senegal's Moslem community.

President Dos Santos has also received a message from Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello. It was delivered by Carlos Luis Coutinho Peres, head of Brazil's foreign ministry. The message deals with friendship and cooperation links between Angola and Brazil.

The Brazilian diplomat has been in Angola since 20 November and has already met the foreign affairs, finance, and petroleum and energy ministers, as well as the deputy governor of the National Bank of Angola.

UNITA Denies Correspondent's Report on Zaire

*MB2311081090 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance
of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and
Central Africa 0500 GMT 23 Nov 90*

[Communiqué issued by the Political Bureau of the UNITA Central Committee in Jamba on 23 November 1990 —read by announcer]

[Text] 1. UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] categorically rejects the fallacious and unfounded statements disseminated by Aguiar dos Santos, the Luanda correspondent of Radio France International, in his 22 November 1990 report. According to his report, units of the Zairian Army had been assigned to UNITA's Armed Forces in order to invade Lunda Province.

2. UNITA is a genuine nationalist movement and no foreign forces have ever joined it in its struggle for freedom, peace, and multiparty democracy in Angola. However, throughout its existence the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] has always relied on the assistance of foreign forces. In fact, the MPLA is today in power due to the Soviet-Cuban intervention in Angola.

At a time when the Soviet empire is crumbling and in view of the Cuban withdrawal from Angola, FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] are unable to control the country. In order to justify the weakness of its armed forces, the MPLA-PT has resorted to lies as seen during the great Mavinga campaign during which it claimed to have seized the town, although it was never able to do so.

3. If the MPLA-PT seeks to deceive UNITA's allies, the Political Bureau of the UNITA Central Committee alerts the national and international public opinion not to be manipulated and tricked by the MPLA-PT. We recall what happened to Frenchmen (Jean Claude Same), (Henry Traise), (Ouibert Verbier), and (Didier Derize) in April; Portuguese nationals Jose da Conceicao Nunes and Jose Manuel Fernandes Vieira da Silva in September; and U.S. national (Braam Swan) in October 1990 whose abductions were deliberately attributed to UNITA, when in fact they had been abducted by FLEC [Front for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave] secessionists.

4. In view of widespread dissent within the MPLA-PT and the considerable progress that has been made at the negotiations to end the conflict, the MPLA-PT lacks the courage to deal with the final phase, that is, peace and national reconciliation. Accordingly, the MPLA-PT accuses neighboring countries which have nothing to do with the Angolan conflict, although they would like to help bring it to an end.

5. UNITA reiterates its willingness to continue its dialogue with the MPLA-PT in the search for a fair and lasting peace in Angola.

Our fatherland free or death. United we shall win.

[Issued] Jamba, bastion of the Angolan resistance on 23 November 1990

The Political Bureau

Commentary Criticizes SA Mercenary's 'Bragging'

MB2111195890 (Clandestine) KUP in English to Southern and Central Africa 1900 GMT 21 Nov 90

[“Commentary”]

[Text] [No dateline as received]—Only one who does not know UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] and is in the service of decadent forces can dare make ludicrous blunders and offenses like those committed by the South African [SA] mercenary Jan Bretein-Bar:

This is how the UNITA radio, Vorgan, reacted to the bragging made by a South African mercenary who calls himself Jan Pretein-Bar on the BBC on November 19, in relation to the blasphemous and insulting revelations against UNITA.

This nowhere man is frustrated and sold. He roams about the world on the expense of decadent forces and money stolen from Angolan oil.

Vorgan's article broadcast yesterday said that it was curious that these offenses against UNITA normally come up always when the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] is in total agony and steeply falling, and the sound box is the same, a source accepted in London.

It is a pity that the tribune and sound box of these vagabonds at the service of the MPLA is now the BBC of London. It would be bad if this were to continue because the BBC cannot turn itself into a tribune where all the rotten human debris of Africa and the world imported by the MPLA, should be dumped.

The mercenary Bretein-Bar does not know UNITA. And for us to be just and honest with history, we reaffirm that UNITA, in its national liberation struggle, had always counted on its own strength and had made enormous sacrifices for it to succeed in the struggle against the Portuguese colonial troops and the neo-colonialist forces of Cuba. It was a politico-military struggle. Militarily, UNITA has reached where it is now with its armed forces, FALA—Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, which is a purely integral, well-structured and disciplined army.

FALA have never admitted foreigners in its midst, in its 24-year long history. The FALA forces were created, prepared and upgraded by their high commander, General Savimbi. The FALA forces have evolved under the direct command of their high commander, from nothing, FALA forces have grown and today, with their own effort and enlightened by the intelligence and wisdom of General Savimbi, they are among the best armies in Africa and the world.

Is there anything more than this to illustrate General Savimbi's capacity and profound knowledge of military art? Who frustrated the intentions of the Cuban foreign forces if not FALA, under the command of General Savimbi? Who defeated the FAPLA [People's Army for the Liberation of Angola]/Russian combined forces in Mavinga this year, 1990, crashing completely the so-called last assault, if not FALA, under the direct command of General Savimbi? Did the South Africans also take part in this offensive on FALA's side?

The destructive campaigns against UNITA will fail as usual, whatever their origin.

We, UNITA militants, we, the oppressed and resistant Angolan people, are ot going to allow abuses against our glorious movement and the person of our beloved President, Dr. Savimbi. We make our own history by ourselves, we maek our own march for freedom. Only ourselves knwo where the graves of our best companions, parents and brothers are.

We will never permit unscrupulous mercenaries and individuals in the service of decadent and reactionary forces to insult the people of Angola and our beloved president, Dr. Savimbi.

General Savimbi has no match in contemporary history. General Savimbi has match only in the classic age of men like Napoleon, Alexander the Great and De Gaulle. Illiterates cannot obtain the value of so many culminations, that is why they launch this nonsense.

Denounces 'Colonialist'

MB2211083990 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0500 GMT 22 Nov 90

[“Special Communique” issued by FALA's Chief of General Staff Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben in Jamba on 22 November—read by announcer]

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] is a movement which has a historic background of its own since its founding in 1966. It has a strong and united leadership. It is an armed force, which, over the past years has proved to be unbeatable on the ground.

It is unacceptable that a South African mercenary of the murderous type of Mr. Jan Bretein-Bar should seek to sow confusion about UNITA's historic background, and Comrade President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi, the leader of UNITA, an army general, and supreme commander of FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola].

Mr. Jan Bretein-Bar is a South African mrcenary with a sad past. He has already fought and lost in Tshombe's Katanga, in Ojukwu's Biafra, in Ian Smith's Rhodesia, and in the Angolan battles against the Angolan people, namely during the Savana, Protea, and Askari campaigns.

This is the image of a colonialist and racist mercenary. At one of the most trying periods of the Angolan people, the mercenary dared to bribe Angolan refugees, transforming them into bloodthirsty soldiers of the 32d Buffalo Battalion in the face of the massive 1976 Soviet-Cuban invasion.

In addition to being a mercenary, Mr. Jan Bretein-Bar was a confirmed poacher who promoted the extermination of elephants in Angola and in the Caprivi Strip. After UNITA uncovered and denounced his activities, he mounted a large-scale disinformation campaign, accusing UNITA of involvement in ivory trafficking, which the international community realized was totally unfounded.

Dr. Savimbi's military genius has been recorded in the annals of the anticolonial war, in the 16-year-old war against the Soviet-Cuban invasion, and, recently, in the Mavinga battle which lasted 137 days. This battle, which has once and for all reversed the course of Angola's and southern Africa's history, was personally led by Supreme Commander General Savimbi. UNITA fought on its own, without the support of any South Africans or other foreign forces. It proved to be capable of tackling modern military science. UNITA achieved a resounding and historic victory. FALA owe those gains solely to their supreme commander.

Let us see who is the master of war and mercenarism. Whenever armies have been defeated, they had to enter into unsavory negotiations from a disadvantageous standpoint. In Angola, UNITA won the Mavinga battle, and is now in an undeniable position of strength.

Unlike UNITA, the 32d Battalion, consisting of Mr. Jan Bretein-Bar's mercenaries, is in the Transvaal as a South African battalion unwelcomed by UNITA. The campaign waged by Mr. Jan Bretein-Bar and his mentors, which is only echoed by UNITA's adversaries, will not prevent the irreversible march of the Angolan people toward peace, and free, fair, and democratic elections in Angola.

Our fatherland free or death. United we shall win.
[Issued] Jamba, bastion of the Angolan resistance on 22 November 1990 [Signed] General Arlindo Chenda Pena Ben-Ben, FALA's chief of general staff

Soviet Embassy: Ties Only When Apartheid Over

MB2211153690 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Interview with USSR Embassy Adviser (Gorenski) by unidentified reporter—in Portuguese]

[Text] (Mikhail Gorenski), adviser to the USSR Embassy in this country, said in Luanda today that the Soviet Union will not establish diplomatic relations with South Africa as long as the apartheid system has not been abolished. The USSR diplomat was replying to a statement by South African Foreign Minister Roelof Pik

Botha that South Africa and the Soviet Union might establish diplomatic ties within the next few months.

[Begin recording] [(Gorenski)] (?I believe) that Mr. Pik Botha (?also) said that the apartheid system will end within a few months. I am sure that the Soviet Union will never establish relations with South Africa until the system that divides men according to races and ethnic groups is done away with.

[Reporter] Mr. Adviser: Mr. Botha made that statement in the wake of his visit to East Europe. Could it not be that he [words indistinct] that possibility?

[(Gorenski)] I cannot answer that because I do not have the information. However, once again I am certain that different rumors or [words indistinct] could arise from this. We must base ourselves on the principle that our country, our Foreign Ministry, and our Foreign Ministry spokesmen have also made many statements. In other words, the establishment of diplomatic relations between South Africa and the Soviet Union will only become possible once the apartheid system has been dismantled in South Africa. I think this issue is quite clear. [end recording]

Mauritius

* LPT Petitions MaBC for Creole Broadcasts

9IAF0193B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French
27 Oct 90 p 7

[Article by Habib Mosahab: "MaBC (Mauritian Broadcasting Corporation) Language Policy Questioned: LPT (Education for Jobs) Demands TV News in Creole and Bhojpuri"; first paragraph is LE MAURICIEN introduction; italicized passages published in English]

[Text] Education for Jobs (LPT) questions the MaBC [Mauritian Broadcasting Corporation] language policy and demands TV news in Creole and an information bulletin in Bhojpuri on one of the two Mauritian TV channels.

At a press conference yesterday, Mrs. Linsey Collen and Miss Anne-Marie Sophie said that their organization will send a petition to that effect to the MaBC general director on the occasion of the Creole World Day, on 28 October.

The petition is now being circulated among social and cultural organizations, clubs and other associations in the country.

"We count on Mauritian public support to persuade the MaBC to democratize access to information. We hope, therefore, that our petition will gather many signatures," Mrs. Linsey Collen stated.

In the petition, the LPT asks the MaBC to "democratize its language policy as far as TV news bulletins are concerned." "We would like to propose that instead of the MaBC broadcasting news in the French language on both TV stations at 19:30 each evening, that as from 28

October one of these broadcasts be made in our language in kreol," the LPT stated in its petition.

The LPT also asks that one of the two TV channels offer a news bulletin in Bhojpuri, with the other channel offering news in Hindi.

According to the LPT, these two proposals "would bring the national broadcasting station into conformity with internationally accepted fundamental rights of all people to receiving information in languages they understand."

In this connection, the LPT leadership maintains that most Mauritians are not fluent enough in French and therefore do not understand everything that is said on the 19:30 TV news.

The LPT also believes that many people for whom the "samachar" (news bulletin in Hindi) is intended do not understand that language well enough, so that the news broadcast by the MaBC is not accessible to all Mauritians.

In its petition, the LPT declares itself in favor of retaining the *10 o'clock News* in English.

* EEC Accord To Allow Foreign Fishing Vessels

91AF0198B Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French
17 Oct 90 p 5

[Article by Vijay Shankar: "Foreigners in Mauritian Waters; A Decision on Which Not All Agree"; first paragraph is LE MAURICIEN introduction; italicized words published in English]

[Text] A decision of the Mauritian Government concerning an agreement to be signed soon between Mauritius and the EEC, involving the issuance of operating licenses to 40 or so foreign tuna-boats/seiners allowing them to operate in Mauritian waters is not approved by all in the Mauritian fishing sector.

According to a shipowner, instead of reviving the fishing sector on new bases, this decision will bring about overfishing of our exclusive economic zone by foreign boats, which will end up selling their catch on more lucrative markets. Fish, a relatively inexpensive protein source, will thus be out of reach for the Mauritian population. In this connection, the shipowner mentioned the example of the trawler that unloaded 53 tons of "La Perle"-brand fish at our neighbors' in Reunion last February, all of which had been caught in Mauritian waters.

The agreement, which is likely to be signed before the end of the year, will allow fishing boats from Reunion to catch up to 300 tons of fish per year on the Saya de Malha and Nazareth banks. French and Spanish tuna-boats/seiners will also be allowed to fish in the Mauritian exclusive economic zone against payment of a *licensing fee* which is expected to yield about 10 million rupees per year.

At the Ministry of Agriculture, it is estimated that this decision will enable Mauritius to obtain preferential treatment from the EEC under the Lome-IV Convention

concerning aid to ACP [African, Caribbean and Pacific] countries in the fishing sector.

* Open Letter Protests SMF in Rodrigues

91AF0193A Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French
17 Oct 90 p 5

[Open letter by Rodrigues Live Forces: "Is the SMF (Special Mobile Force) Presence in Rodrigues a Necessity?"; first two paragraphs are LE MAURITIEN introduction]

[Text] The Rodrigues Live Forces have written a letter to the prime minister to protest the SMF presence which, the 15 signatories state, is "neither understood, nor accepted by the people of the island." Hence a feeling of distrust and anger among the inhabitants. This is why they ask the prime minister to "reconsider whether Commander Dayal's men should move in."

In the same letter, the 15 organizations seek the support of the Mauritian people and nongovernment organizations in order to persuade the government to give up the planned construction of SMF barracks in Rodrigues.

Forces Vives,

Rodrigues,

10 October 1990

Mr Prime Minister:

SOS Rodrigues; No to the SMF Presence

The SMF presence in Rodrigues has never been understood nor accepted by the people. It has been the subject of many questions, both in parliament and in the written press, until the government recently seemed willing to grant them a site of about 75 to 100 acres, i.e., 0.3 percent of all the land in Rodrigues.

In the past few weeks, a feeling of distrust and anger has appeared and become widespread among the people. Every day since 1988, without understanding why, the Rodriguaise have seen "SMF jeeps" drive past. Yet, we had been told that they had come on a reconnaissance mission, to get familiar with the island's relief, in case of a major problem. You will remember that they would look for things to do to relieve their idleness, such as planting electric poles, distributing flannelettes, recovering frescoes from shipwrecks, etc.; because there were not loads of these, they soon ran out of things to do. But we were much surprised to notice that, little by little, the soldiers settled here, in spite of the silence surrounding their presence, which is still much questioned.

In the latest issue of RODRIGUES 2000, at the end of August 1990, the Ministry of Rodrigues informed the people of all the projects concerning the island, with no mention whatsoever of the SMF presence here. Yet, a few days later, on Tuesday 21 August, L'EXPRESS announced that the SMF was negotiating the acquisition of a 75-acre site, located mostly on the Begue concession,

where it would build five barracks and two administrative buildings to house its personnel on mission to Rodrigues. Later, on 16 September, WEEK-END wrote: "In addition, we have learned that the SMF's determination to get the site (whose strategic interest totally baffles us) has the indirect effect of preventing a planned residential subdivision toward the sea, at Caverne Provert. This project, it seems, had been planned by the Rodrigues administration after consultation with the Ministry of Housing, in order to help provide the Rodriguaise with houses in a nice location where utilities would have been correctly planned and installed. The project had also been approved by the Ministry of Housing. Anyhow, the planned subdivision has now been frozen because of the likelihood that barracks will be built in the close vicinity."

Since then, discontent has reached a climax. The concern for security put forward to account for the SMF presence in Rodrigues is giving rise to feelings of insecurity.

What do they intend to do on Rodrigues? Are we really threatened?

All these questions show that the Rodriguaise have the impression that they are witnessing a tragedy that will make them foreigners on their native land. This feeling of being robbed is badly felt. And it has to happen just at a time when people are advocating respect for the uniqueness of Rodrigues!

Is the SMF Presence in Rodrigues a Necessity?

While "higher security" is the reason timidly put forward by the authorities, one wonders: what kind of security? Internal security? Is a good regular police force inadequate to assure law and order in an island known for its peace and quiet? Why not strengthen the regular police force, which is sorely short of personnel? External security, you will say. Without underestimating our special police force, in case of a foreign attack will they suffice to confront any foreign force? Besides, if there were a real threat, it would not be difficult to deploy a detachment of men from Plaisance in Plaine Corail.

Lacking any valid reason, we judge that it is a great waste, with considerable repercussions on the national budget, especially considering that Rodrigues has far more urgent needs, such as water supply, education, roads, jobs, etc., all basic needs that must be met.

We urge the prime minister, who really cares about the development of Rodrigues, to be kind enough to reconsider the entire issue of the very SMF presence in Rodrigues.

We also urge all of the Mauritian people, our friends, and more particularly the nongovernment organizations (NGOs) to show solidarity with the Rodriguaise people in fighting for this cause, which we feel is legitimate.

Looking forward to your answer, we are, Mr Minister,

Very truly yours,

"Live Forces," which includes representatives of the following social organizations:

1. Children's Rights Committee (CDE)
2. Rodrigues General Workers Provident Fund (RGWPF)
3. Rodriguaise Consumers Association (ACR) (chairman)
4. Children Catholic Action (ACE)
5. Literacy for the Adolescents (ALPHADO)
6. Northern Cooperative Credit Union (NCCU)
7. Anti-Alcohol Committee (CAA)
8. Rodrigues Council of Social Service (RCSS)
9. Christian Working Youth (JOC/JOCF)
10. Dissident Wing of the Rodrigues Government Employees Association
11. MIDADE International
12. Rodrigues Handicraft Council (RHC)
13. Amnesty International (AI)
14. Government Teachers Union (GTU Rodrigues Branch)
15. Rodrigues College Anti-Alcohol Club (CRAC)

*** Boolell Urges March Against 'Illegal' Assembly**

*9IAF0152C Port Louis LE MAURICIEN in French
13 Oct 90 p 4*

[Article by Raj Gowrea: "Arvind Boolell Exhorts Laborites To Demonstrate Before Parliament"; italicized words published in Creole]

[Text] Laborite deputy Arvind Boolell yesterday exhorted Labor Party [PT] supporters to demonstrate in front of parliament when the Legislative Assembly reconvenes. The deputy added that "even if they beat us on the head" the demonstration will enable the PT to express its disapproval of the speech from the throne, which the party considers "illegal."

The deputy mentioned the planned demonstration during his remarks at an open forum on the subject of "the illegitimacy of the current government." The regime now in power "has no legitimate mandate to govern the country," the deputy said, for the simple reason that the MSM/MMM [Mauritius Socialist Movement/Mauritian Militant Movement] alliance was not voted into office by the people and therefore violates the basic principle of democracy.

The speaker said the minority MSM government should have dissolved parliament and called elections. *But Jugnauth is not of a mind to do that, because Jugnauth is not from the school of thought that respects democracy*, he asserted, before predicting that the current government will not last very long. In that regard, he appealed to PT supporters to support the party's ambitious plan of action, which will culminate in the selection of a new leader who will reflect the aspiration of Labor Party voters for a dynamic team, committee designation of "red" candidates, and finally a campaign for national unity to prevent the "balkanization" of Mauritian society.

Returning to the theme of the regime's illegitimacy, deputy Boolell said it was his duty to speak up, which was why he appealed to Laborites to demonstrate at the

reopening of parliament against what he called the "illegal speech" that will be delivered on that occasion. The Labor deputy accordingly urged the governor general not to abuse the authority vested in him by participating in the ceremonies—though he conceded that he himself does not know "what the constitution provides."

Laborite leader James Burty David also called on the governor general to think carefully before beginning the throne speech with the traditional words "my government." According to David, the government in place is just a bunch of squatters illegally occupying Government House. He said the new government was the result of a "palace coup" because it was never approved by a vote of the people. He rejected the MMM's claim that it joined the government out of a sense of duty.

Mr. J. Burty David also referred to two public opinion surveys, which he said show that opposition parties would win 37 seats, while the parties in the government would take only 23. The same surveys, according to Mr. David, show Dr. Navin Ramgoolam, the PT's designated leader, with an impressive lead over his adversaries—48 percent, against only 17 percent for Jugnauth.

Other speakers at the open forum included Sir Ramesh Jeewoolall, Kailash Purryag and Reshad Dawreeawoo.

Mozambique

Government Issues Communique on Renamo Talks

MB2111183890 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1758 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] Yesterday, we reported that Prime Minister Mario Machungo said in Macao over the weekend that a cease-fire is possible at any time in Mozambique. The prime minister was cited by a number of international agencies. In connection with this issue, we received at our newsdesk a few moments ago a communique from the Foreign Ministry.

Contacted over the progress of the negotiating process in Rome and over a possibly imminent signing of a cease-fire agreement, the Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Mozambique has issued the following statement:

The Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique has directed its delegation in Rome, led by Transport and Communications Minister Armando Emilio Guebuza, to discuss all political and military issues in order to end war and establish a lasting peace in the country.

Accordingly, the delegation is effectively mandated to sign a general cease-fire agreement. Everything will depend on the way the talks will proceed and their results.

The difficulties faced by our delegation so far are that Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] is currently refusing to discuss or sign a general cease-fire agreement. So far, Renamo has only agreed to examine the issue of the presence of foreign troops in the country. This is only

one of the points on the agreed agenda. At present, discussions continue on this issue.

Delegation 'Ordered' To Sign

MB2311152490 Johannesburg International Service
in English 1500 GMT 23 Nov 90

[Text] The Mozambican news agency says the government delegation at the peace talks in Rome has been ordered to sign a general cease-fire with Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance].

The two sides have resumed talks in the third round of negotiations aimed at ending the civil war in Mozambique. The Mozambican foreign minister, Mr. Pascual Mocumbi, said discussions currently focussed on Renamo's demand to analyze the question of the presence of foreign troops in the country.

Two previous rounds of talks failed because Renamo refused to discuss the possibility of a cease-fire while about 10,000 Zimbabwean troops remained in Mozambique. However, an agreement has apparently been reached on placing Renamo's demands at the top of the agenda.

Namibia

Geingob Responds to DTA 'Muzzling' Accusations

MB2111124990 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN
in English 16 Nov 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Geingob Spells Out Nuts and Bolts of Democracy to DTA"]

[Text] Reacting to charges that the ruling party had "seriously undermined the democratic system in Namibia" with the recent Parliamentary showdown with the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance], resulting in that party walking out of the Assembly, Prime Minister Hage Geingob said he took this allegation so seriously that it could not go unchallenged.

The government of the day, he added, had been accused of eroding the "confidence in the Bill of Fundamental Rights", being guilty of "extreme violation of the constitution", of "violating freedom of speech", and of "muzzling" open discussion and being a "dictatorship".

Giving the background to what gave rise to these accusations, Geingob said, on November 8 DTA chairperson Dirk Mudge had introduced a motion in the Assembly to discuss the economy. Geingob himself had protested the motion, saying it was not the right time and would not be in the national interest to do so at present.

Responding to accusations of "muzzling" the opposition, Geingob said in the past 15 motions had been introduced by the opposition—some manifestly intended to embarrass the government—and all had been discussed.

He cited as an example the detainee issue, saying while it may have been convenient for the government to vote it down and not permit discussion of the issue, they had allowed the debate to continue until it "degenerated into fruitlessness".

Because the government, in one instance, had asked the opposition to postpone a debate in the national interest, it was construed as undemocratic.

"What is undemocratic about that? What is dictatorial about that? What has it got to do with the Bill of Fundamental Rights or freedom of speech?" the Prime Minister asked.

He said he was disappointed there had been no scholarly analysis of these accusations to put the matter into perspective. But, he added, he himself had gone out of his way to solicit the opinion of a leading South African scholar on Constitutional Law. The scholar's opinion was that the government had not violated the letter or spirit of the constitution. "The greatest problem....is that the main opposition is experiencing loneliness in the opposition benches," he said, adding that they apparently felt they should be part of the day-to-day governing of the country.

The legislature was there to make laws, the executive to formulate and execute policies on a day-to-day basis, and the judiciary to interpret the laws and not interfere in governance. Co-administration through the National Assembly was simply not possible, the Prime Minister said, as there was no coalition government in Namibia. SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] had won a clear 57.3 percent of the vote in last year's election, "so the question of coalition government or co-administration is out", he added.

In the interest of national reconciliation, SWAPO had offered the ministerial post of Trade and Industry to the DTA's Hans-Erik Staby and deputy ministerial posts of Justice and Trade and Industry to Messrs Rukoro and Diergaardt respectively. The DTA had felt that to accept the offer would make it less effective as an opposition, while the government had believed that by offering the DTA the ministerial post, which would have made them privy to Cabinet discussions, it would have afforded them an opportunity to know the direction in which the government was going.

"So they must stay out of day to day governance and wait for an opportunity to discuss issues when they are properly brought before the National Assembly," Geingob said. If in the future the government saw that discussion of a certain item would prejudice their position with other governments or international agencies, "we will not hesitate to vote it down".

Another important attribute of democracy was tolerance. This meant not only learning to accept criticism, but also defeat through democratic means.

"We all know that it was during the period that he was at the helm of affairs here that SWAPO political activities were either prohibited or disrupted, that many who spoke against the system were detained under AG [Administrator General] 26," the Prime Minister added, emphasising that Namibia now had a democratic system.

Swaziland

Mandela Threatens To Withdraw From SA Talks

MB221151790 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 24

[Unattributed report: "Mandela Threatens To Pull Out of SA Talks"]

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] deputy leader Dr. Nelson Mandela yesterday threatened that his organisation would pull out from the ongoing peace talks in South Africa if South Africa [SA] State President, Mr. F.W. de Klerk does not intervene to stop the brutal killing of blacks by police.

Dr. Mandela said Mr. de Klerk allows police to run wild and kill black people.

He said what is frustrating is that when the government deals with right wing rioters breaking up meetings of the National Party including those of the state president, the police do not use live ammunition. "These people have all the right to vote. However, when the black people who have no right to vote embark on a peaceful, disciplined protest, the police use live rounds of ammunition despite the carnage that has been committed. When we complain to Mr. de Klerk, he is not prepared to intervene."

Dr. Mandela made these remarks in a wide ranging speech on Tuesday [20 Nov] night at the Swazi Inn during a dinner hosted in his honour by the Prime Minister, Mr. Obed Diamini.

Dr. Mandela said the ANC told President P.W. Botha in 1986, that Pretoria had tried for 38 years to crush the ANC and had failed. "We told them that they should give up and accept us as equals. What we are saying is that no useful purpose can be served in killing one another when we can sit down and discuss peace."

Dr. Mandela said fortunately there emerged a leader, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, amongst the white population and politicians—a leader who realised that the policy the South African government has been following for the last 42 years, was leading that country to disaster.

He said although Mr. de Klerk has made significant changes in the country, such changes are meaningless because many forms of racial discrimination remain.

"We want to see every South African having the vote...that is what the ANC is demanding."

Dr. Mandela said after the ANC suspended its armed struggle, the government is now calling upon the organisation to suspend mass action.

"When they raised this issue on August 6, we totally rejected it and pointed out that until they are effective mechanisms which will enable the oppressed people of South Africa to address their grievances successfully, we will continue with mass action. "We pointed out to the government that their attitude was being unreasonable in that mass action is the basis of democracy."

Dr. Mandela said demonstrations are done all over the world and wondered why the South African government decided that the oppressed people in that country cannot demonstrate if they are not happy with something.

"Nevertheless, we are the people who are the architects of peace in our country and we are prepared to succeed. We are not doing so blindly. If we are convinced that the government is not prepared to act honestly and travel the road with us, we will have no hesitation to withdraw from the peace talks. Everybody must understand how tragic that decision might be, because if the government pulled out of these discussions, there would be no peace in our country," he said.

"If the ANC pulled out, there would be no question of peace in our country. And Mr de Klerk who has already burnt his boots and who has already lost substantial percentage of his constituency will be placed in a very difficult position."

'Aware' of Sanctions Results

*MB2111173290 Mbabane Domestic Service in English
1600 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[Text] Visiting ANC [African National Congress] Deputy President Mr. Nelson Mandela says he wishes there was no need for his organization to call for continued sanctions against South Africa, so that that country's industrial evolution would not be disturbed, as the case is in Swaziland.

Speaking after visiting several flourishing factories in Matsapha industrial site today, Mr. Mandela said his organization is aware that black workers would be greatly affected if sanctions against South Africa were prolonged, but has no choice since the South African Government is dragging its feet towards ensuring total dismantling of apartheid, the common source of misery for the majority of peoples of South Africa. Mr. Mandela visited factories, which included Natex, Candy World, and Safety Glass.

Addressing Waterford-Kamhlaba students later in the day on the wave of violence sweeping through South Africa, Mr. Mandela said his organization is doing all it can to bring it under control, but still lacks the cooperation of the Inkatha leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who unfortunately has refused to take part in ANC talks with other homeland leaders.

Mr. Mandela said the Zulu leader claims he is not a homeland leader in the first place [words indistinct].

He said the situation has become explosive in that highly trained mercenaries are involved in the killings, but the South African Government is doing nothing about it, for reasons best known to it.

Benin*** Views on Constitutional Referendum Criticized**

*91AF0130A Cotonou LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE
(National Edition) in French 2 Oct 90 p 3*

[Editorial by Abdel Kader Saka: "Referendum—What Game Are Our Politicians Playing?"; first paragraph is LA GAZETTE DU GOLFE introduction]

[Text] The Benin experiment in democracy, which has been closely watched on the continental if not the world scene, will now have to get over a decisive hurdle: the hurdle of the constitutional referendum. The majority of the people and the wisdom of the political leaders should help transcend the selfish interests of both. However, certain political groups have already expressed their preference for a "yes" or a "no." As long as the national interest is placed above all else.

Since the national conference meeting, the authorities of the transitional government have been striving to meet the new political deadlines. At the present time, the referendum on the final draft of the constitution, which will be held on 28 October, is the most pressing issue. Already, the cacophony observed in the political arena leads one to expect that the task will be tough. As was the case at the national conference, it will once again be necessary to trade one's "ich" (me) for one's "über ich" (above me). The survival of democracy makes this imperative. However, the war of ideas is becoming more and more concrete.

Constructive Debate or Special Interests Debate?

Certain defenders of the presidential system want to provide themselves with a democratic guarantee and believe that beyond this requirement, the defenders of the semipresidential system are constantly engaging in political calculations that are favorable to them in all respects. With all this tugging from both sides, it is very hard to establish a symbiosis between the defenders or detractors of the two systems on the one hand, and the age limitation on potential presidential candidates on the other.

But what will the people say during the referendum that will take place during the first two weeks of the current month? The people will have to choose between "Yes But," "Yes" or "No."

Generally speaking, a number of political parties have already become involved in the campaign concerning the upcoming referendum. The party of former president Emile-Derlin Zinsou, the National Union for Democracy and Progress (UNDP), has already made its position on the upcoming referendum clear. For the "Zinsouists" it will come down to saying no to the presidential system and to age limitations. It was a good tactic against the draft constitution for law professor

Thomas Goudou to participate in a televised debate with his colleague, Theodore Holo, one of the architects of the draft.

Mr. Magloire Yansunu from the People's Convention and the PCD [Dahomey Communist Party] has also announced that his movement rejects the draft constitution as a whole. Consequently, he will vote "NO" at the referendum.

As a matter of fact, the PCD has not renounced its methods of struggle. Through civil disobedience, this party openly advocates an insurrection army against the Democratic Renewal currently under way. Does the Dahomey Communist Party want to endanger our country by creating a situation comparable to that in Liberia? If, as everyone knows, the PCD is bringing together numerous militants and sympathizers, and is counting on the popular support of the masses, then why not simply participate in the democratic game and win the upcoming presidential elections in order to implement its government program. Everyone must ponder this thought if we want to prevent more useless suffering for our already distressed country.

While the "YES" coalition is gaining in numbers, disintegration seems to be the rule within the "NO" coalition. And for good reason, as the leader of the Party for Democratic Renewal (PRD), Mr. Adrien Houngbedji, who had earlier invited all the members of his party to vote "NO," is humbly changing sides for the sake of national unity. As for former president Hubert Maga, he has specified his position. He intends to vote "NO," but without the age limitation. Obviously, he still refuses to "let himself be buried alive." With this political imbroglio consisting of political parties, which are still undecided as to the final stand to take with regard to the referendum, Gedeon Dasundo's Alliance for Democracy and Progress (ADP) is stepping out of the shadows and is calling on its members to vote "NO." This is also a way to demonstrate political courage. Over the next few days, the numerous parties within the "YES" coalition should also identify themselves to allow public opinion to become firm. The democratic game calls for those who are defeated at the referendum to accept this without balking. But there is nothing to keep those who are defeated beforehand from carrying their gun on the other shoulder. What is essential is that the democratic game be respected and that the people be vigilant in order to freely make up their minds.

National Interest at Stake

To a careful observer of Benin politics, the alliances that are being formed today have a strong resemblance to interest blocs. Which might be prejudicial to this as yet too fragile democracy. Hence it is necessary to allow the democratic game to play freely in order to avoid all kinds of manipulations and getting off track. One might be tempted to write that a war of political systems will not occur in Benin.

If not for the fact that the people of Benin are unanimous in saying no to dictatorship, whether it be military or civilian. Today, if we might experiment with the presidential system first, that does not exclude the possibility of experimenting with the semipresidential system or vice versa. Today, the sociological, political, and even philosophical environment will undoubtedly determine the political system to be experimented with first in Benin. If it is logical to judge the political life of a country by the system that regulates it, then it is even more logical to judge it by the men in charge of implementing the political system and those to whom the system applies. Beyond what is referred to in the new Benin political vocabulary as "the cacaphony of ambitions," a sustained debate on patriotism should currently concern all the political feelings involved in the race for power. Without that spirit of patriotism it would be illusory to want to "build a new Benin on the ruins of Marxism-Beninism." Because God only knows how many seasoned intellectuals there are—they can be counted on the tips of one's fingers—who do not see power as a way of getting the biggest piece of the pie. But, as those in the know are well aware of, exercising political power requires first of all sacrifices, a giving of oneself and a commitment to the cause of the people that only those who are full of patriotism, or better yet of nationalism are really capable of. Even though it is true that "great minds form great nations," it remains no less true that great patriots become great minds. Hence patriotism must be reinvented. The people, whose political leaders all claim to defend their interests, must be vigilant to be able to determine what is really patriotic and what is not. As a matter of fact, the people seem indifferent to the unrest that exists within certain political groups. The press, as the fourth power, will keep a close eye on all of them. It is to this end that the "journalists-politicians" should endeavor to act as "political journalists" at the time of major decisive moments, specifically the referendum. Instead of political convictions, it is important that professional convictions rule the media coverage of the major phases of the democratic process that will lead to presidential elections.

The Gambia

Omar Sey Views Talks With Al-Qadhdhafi

AB2211192090 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 22 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] A lot of things are moving on Liberia at the moment. The ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] appointed interim president, Amos Sawyer, arrived in Monrovia yesterday. A meeting of the protagonists in the civil war, including Charles Taylor, is scheduled for the Mali capital, Bamako, next week. And a high-level team from Nigeria, Ghana, and The Gambia has just been in Tripoli for talks about Liberia with

Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. He is widely believed to have been supporting Charles Taylor's Patriotic Front rebels.

Well one on the team in Tripoli was The Gambian foreign minister, Omar Sey. He is now passing through London, and Robin White asked him how the talks had gone.

[Begin recording] [Sey] I must say we were very well received by the leader, and we had some very useful discussions, very frank but useful discussions with the leader.

[White] Did he say that he would stop supporting Charles Taylor?

[Sey] No we did not ask him to stop supporting Charles Taylor and he therefore never told us he would stop supporting Charles Taylor. What we asked him to do is to support the ECOWAS peace initiative and we were delighted to learn that the leader would be willing to lend support to the Mediation Committee and indeed to the ECOWAS community as a whole in trying to implement the ECOWAS peace plan.

[White] Presumably you would like Col. al-Qadhdhafi to pressure Charles Taylor to reach some kind of deal with the interim government.

[Sey] Yes we would like Col. al-Qadhdhafi to use his influence on Charles Taylor to agree to sign a cease-fire agreement and also to accept the implementation of the ECOWAS peace plan.

[White] But did Col. al-Qadhdhafi promise to do that?

[Sey] Yes he has promised to work with us to achieve those objectives.

[White] Did not Col. al-Qadhdhafi admit to you that he had been helping Charles Taylor militarily?

[Sey] Well we did not ask him to admit that but certainly it is a known fact and Col. al-Qadhdhafi does not make any secret of it that he supports Charles Taylor. And Charles Taylor himself has said yes I have been supported by many countries and I do not think he makes any secret of the fact that he is also being supported by Col. al-Qadhdhafi.

[White] Do you know why Col. al-Qadhdhafi supporting him is in a way rather strange in that Charles Taylor has not made very good friends with the Muslim population in Liberia? It is in a way rather strange that Col. al-Qadhdhafi supports him.

[Sey] Yes I thought it was strange myself until I heard from Col. al-Qadhdhafi himself because what he thought was Charles Taylor was somebody who is fighting for freedom, a freedom fighter, or a revolutionary. This is why he has been supporting Charles Taylor. It was a revolution, people rising against something that is unjust in their country, and therefore he was supporting them. But for us who have followed this very closely, at one

point it came to a point where it was no longer just an uprising against the government. It turned into a tribal conflict, Gio killing Mano, Muslims being killed, indiscriminate killing. That was no longer a revolution.

[White] Do you trust Col. al-Qadhdhafi?

[Sey] I have no reasons not to trust him.

[White] You have a lot of reason not to trust him. He has been trying to overthrow your government previously.

[Sey, laughs] Well that is your own view on the matter. I certainly do not share the view that I do not trust him. But I have no reason not to trust him on this matter. I think he has told us frankly what his position has been all along and what he is willing to do, and unless it turns out to be otherwise, I will keep trusting him on this one. [end recording]

Jawara Gives Address at Opening of Parliament

*AB2211205490 Dakar PANA in English 1749 GMT
22 Nov 90*

[Text] Dakar 22 Nov. (PANA)—The chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Gambian President Dawda Jawara, has said the existence of futile inter-state conflicts in West Africa was what prompted the sub-regional economic grouping to set up a Standing Mediation Committee. Speaking in Banjul Wednesday during the opening of The Gambian Parliament, Jawara reiterated his belief that a negotiated settlement of the Liberian conflict was possible. He expressed the hope that Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) would accept the ECOWAS peace plan and sign a ceasefire to end the conflict in that country.

In his address, which was broadcast over Radio Gambia, Jawara described the Liberian conflict as the most challenging problem before the Standing Committee as the situation in that country had threatened the peace and stability of the whole sub-region. Jawara said it was because of the urgent need to restore law, order and peace, that a Cease-Fire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) was establishing a Mediation Committee to avert what would have been the total disaster for Liberia and the sub-region.

The Gambian leader also expressed concern about the situation in the southern Senegalese province of Casamance. He stated that his government did not support the insurgency in Casamance and that his government would not allow The Gambian soil to be used as a spring-board for mounting attacks against Senegalese security forces and civilians or as shelter for the so called separatists. He emphasized the importance of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries and respect for each other's territorial integrity.

Jawara also spoke of some positive developments in South Africa with the release of Nelson Mandela but

warned that war clouds were gathering again in the Middle East following the Iraqi invasion and dismantling of Kuwait. He said the invasion was unprovoked and a blatant act of aggression which constituted an effort to the international community and could not therefore be tolerated. At the same time, he spoke in favour of a revitalisation of UN peace efforts on Palestine, saying peace in the Middle East was only possible through the respect of Palestinians' rights to a homeland.

With regard to the 1990/91 legislative programme, Jawara said his government would pass legislation to make The Gambia an off-shore financial centre for banks, insurance companies and other financial institutions. He underscored the success of major policy reforms, to restore stability and sustained economic growth noting that, for the third year in succession, The Gambia had exceeded a four per cent growth rate. Moreover, the country had cleared outstanding debt arrears and replenished its foreign currency reserves.

Ghana

South Africa's Tutu on De Klerk, Democracy

*AB2111082090 Dakar PANA in English 1749 GMT
21 Nov 90*

[Text] Accra, 21 Nov (GNA/PANA)—Archbishop Desmond Tutu, a prominent South African anti-apartheid campaigner, Wednesday called for an end of conflicts in Africa and the institution of genuine democracies on the continent.

Speaking to the press on arrival in Accra for a four-day working visit, the prelate said the numerous wars and bloodshed in Africa worked in favour of its enemies. Tutu said there are only a few genuine democracies in Africa which gave the impression that there was more individual freedom under colonial rule than now. He urged African leaders to open up their governments and tolerate divergent views.

The archbishop praised South African President F.W. de Klerk for his initiatives to dismantle apartheid and said his reforms cannot be called cosmetic, although these have to be made irreversible.

According to the Nobel Prize laureate, De Klerk, was committed to the total dismantling of the obnoxious system and the building of a non-racial and democratic South Africa. His main obstacles are however the right wingers within his party and the security forces who want to sabotage the process he has set in motion." [no opening quote as received]

Tutu said the main pillars of apartheid - the Group Areas Act, the Land Act and the Population Registration Act - must be repealed and a single South African education department established. He called for a constituent assembly to be elected by universal adult suffrage to write a new non-racial constitution for the country. The constituent assembly some of us are calling for must be

representative of all groups in South Africa," [no opening quote as received] he said and hoped this might come into being early next year.

Tutu condemned violence in black townships which he said gives joy to pro-apartheid groups who argue that blacks cannot rule and would destroy the country.

All violence must be condemned. One death is one too many, said the archbishop, who also criticised the Western press handling of the violence as a black on black violence saying "they do not describe the violence in Northern Ireland as white on white."

Tutu said he had called a meeting of all black South African political leaders on 29 November in Cape Town to discuss the inter-group rivalries, which are the root cause of the on-going killings. He said the role of the security forces in the violence as revealed by a recent government probe should have made De Klerk ask for the resignation of his defence minister. But in South Africa there is no tradition of ministers resigning. They get promoted when they should have been sacked, Tutu told the press conference.

While In Ghana, Tutu is scheduled to meet Ghana's head of state Jerry Rawlings, visit Kumasi in central Ghana and address a public forum.

Liberia

Taylor Says Civil War Over, Time For Peace

AB2111214290 Gbarnga Voice of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia Radio No. 2 in English 1900 GMT 21 Nov 90

[Text] The Liberian chief executive, His Excellency Charles Gankay Taylor, says the Liberian civil war is over and now it is the time to talk peace. President Taylor says he will be personally going to Bamako, Mali, to attend the next week's organized heads of state's summit to discuss the Liberian (?conflict).

ECOWAS Commander, Prince Johnson Meet Sawyer

AB2111202090 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 21 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] At long last, Dr. Amos Sawyer has helicoptered into Monrovia as the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States]-appointed interim president for Liberia. He has been talking of going for weeks while the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] force in Monrovia has been pushing Charles Taylor's Patriotic Front rebels back from the city.

But the war has been heating up again, with Taylor shelling the Port of Monrovia in retaliation for ECOMOG attacks on Buchanan. On Dr. Sawyer's arrival, Scott Sterns telexed this report from Monrovia:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The ECOMOG helicopter which brought Dr. Sawyer from Freetown arrived at 3:30 this afternoon. He was welcomed by a guard of honor from the five-nation peacekeeping force in front of a display of flags from all ECOWAS countries. The Armed Forces of Liberia's military band played the national anthem, with ECOMOG field commander, General Dogonyaro, rebel leader Prince Johnson, and General Bowen from the Armed Forces of Liberia at attention. Dr. Sawyer met the American ambassador, Peter De Vos, and British charge d'affaires, (Stephen Simon), in the muddy landing field near ECOMOG headquarters. The entourage then retired behind closed doors.

Prior to his arrival, an ECOMOG spokesman said that the force had neutralized positions from which rebel leader Charles Taylor shelled Monrovia on Sunday and Monday [18 and 19 November]. Several of the rocket launchers were destroyed, he said, and no further attack is expected. ECOMOG said that contrary to what Taylor claimed in his interview on the BBC yesterday, Taylor had not hid any military stockpile at the Free Port because there was none there. The spokesman confirmed that one ECOMOG soldier was killed when he was hit by an ECOMOG truck during the confusion surrounding the shelling.

The spokesman said that the ECOMOG bombing of Buchanan and Taylor's bombing of Monrovia were two different things because most of the ships in Buchanan carried arms and ammunition and the food that came from Catholic relief services were distributed largely to Taylor's soldiers. He reaffirmed ECOMOG's contention that Monrovia was the only safe port for relief supplies to reach the Liberian people.

Dogonyaro's press secretary denied Taylor's claim that white men flew Nigeria's jets in the Buchanan raid. He said that the Nigerian Air Force came of age a long time ago. I say, he said, that Taylor is one of those unfortunate Africans who do not believe in the capability of their brothers.

The U.S. ambassador, Peter De Vos, said today that he recently spoke with President George Bush for half an hour about Liberia and found him well informed on the situation and concerned about the conditions of the Liberian people. He pledged to continue humanitarian assistance and said that while U.S. foreign policy might be preoccupied with the Gulf crisis, Liberia was always on the horizon. [end recording]

Further on Arrival

AB2211102290 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 22 Nov 90

[Text] The president of the Liberian Interim Government of National Unity, Dr. Amos Sawyer, is now in the capital, Monrovia. Dr. Sawyer arrived in the capital yesterday from Freetown, Sierra Leone at the end of a tour of a number of African countries. The Liberian

interim president was accompanied to Monrovia by other members of the interim government, including Dr. Edward Kessely, Mr. Gabriel Bacchus Matthews, and Dr. Baron Tarr, among others.

The president and party was met on arrival by interim Vice President Bishop Ronald Diggs, the leader of the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia [INPFL], Brigadier General Prince Johnson, the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Major General Joshua Dogonyaro, and Archbishop Michael Francis of the Interfaith Mediation Committee, as well as some members of the diplomatic corps.

Welcoming Dr. Sawyer to Monrovia, the commander of the West African peacekeeping force, ECOMOG, Maj. Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro, told the Liberian interim leader that his courage and determination to succeed in the task of reconciliation, reconstruction, and rehabilitation of Liberia and her people is greater. According to the ECOMOG field commander, Dr. Sawyer's presence on Liberian soil marks the first positive step toward full realization of a peaceful Liberia. In response, the interim president said he was happy to be back home, adding, the differences of Liberians can be reconciled. He thanked ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] for intervening in the Liberian civil conflict to restore peace.

Hundreds of jubilant Liberians lined the routes, singing and waving palm branches to welcome the interim president. Dr. Sawyer later travelled to the INPFL base in Caldwell, where he was warmly received at the gate by the leader of the INPFL, Brig. Gen. Prince Johnson, who formally welcomed Interim President Sawyer and said the mandate of the Interim Government of National Unity to conduct free and fair elections was consistent with the objectives of the INPFL.

In response to Brig. Gen. Johnson's statement of welcome, Dr. Sawyer said the objective of the INPFL to have Liberians govern themselves is noble and called on Liberians to rise above what he called the ashes of the civil war to rebuild the country.

Government Priorities Viewed

*AB2211090990 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] Today in Monrovia, Liberia, a new interim president is expected to be installed. He is Dr. Amos Sawyer, and with him will be members of his cabinet. They carry the hopes of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] and of West Africans that this will be the beginning of the end of the bloody Liberian civil war. A few days ago in Lagos, Ben Asante talked to Dr. Amos Sawyer and asked him what the priorities of the new interim government will be:

[Begin Sawyer recording] The first issue is to find some way to start to work and to bring Mr. Taylor to the conference table to end the violence. This requires talking with our ECOWAS brothers and sisters; it requires also getting to those who supply him with arms, and informing them as to, I think, the folly of the approach that they are now embarked upon.

Then we want to get to the problem of repatriation of our people. We would like to see them return home. It is most embarrassing that what we have on our hands is a situation where the people of the subregion have been called upon to come and rescue us from ourselves. There is a program of resettlement of the people that will return, and also a resettlement of those internally displaced. At this point, more than half of our population is displaced either internally or externally.

Then I think we have a major problem of reconciliation. This has to given some time, but we must get started without delay. Reconciliation has to be seen in every facet of our life; it must be seen in the appointments that we make to political offices; it must be seen in how we treat the symbols of the various cultures and religions in our society; it must be seen in the pronouncements that we make; it must be seen in every facet of our social, cultural, economic, and political life. So while it is a long process, if it is given an early start and we pursue it consistently, I think the people will gradually get to know that we are very serious and will come around to giving us their confidence and support.

The problem of reconstruction is also a major problem that we have to face. Our infrastructures are all down; utilities are not working; our roadways are in disrepair; public buildings are damaged because of the war; and the human toll also is heavy. In the dispair that has hit the hearts of people, we have to find ways to turn these around and to give our people hope so that they can begin the reconstruction with their own human resources being supported by whatever material contributions we can get from abroad. [end recording]

Sawyer Sworn In

*AB2211191090 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 22 Nov 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Amos Sawyer was sworn in as interim president in Monrovia today, and Scott Sterns was there. He telexed this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] Amos Sawyer was sworn in at the Centennial Pavilion in downtown Monrovia. Sawyer arrived to review an ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] guard of honor with its field commander, Joshua Dogonyaro, as the Armed Forces of Liberia [AFL] military band played the national anthem. Anyone wanting to go in had to leave their gun at the door and sign for it. The swearing-in

ceremony was attended by Johnson's rebels, Armed Forces of Liberia soldiers, ECOMOG guards, the press, and what remained of the capital's high society as well as diplomatic delegations from the United States, Britain, Nigeria, and Egypt.

Deputy Speaker (Noah Bedolo) convened a special session of the interim legislative assembly in order to inaugurate Sawyer and Vice President Bishop Ronald Diggs. In his address, Sawyer said that national morale was low and that the people were desperate for peace. He appealed to Charles Taylor to show patriotism and to lay down his arms. Sawyer outlined the Banjul conference plan at which he was elected 11 weeks ago and stated that Taylor was at that time given the highest position in the interim government eligible for the presidency next year in recognition of his ambitions.

Sawyer called on all governments, especially those supporting Taylor, to give peace a chance in Liberia. He said his government would follow its mandate to end the war, resettle displaced Liberians and work towards national reconciliation as well as the supervision of free and fair elections. His speech was interrupted several times by applause and the noise of low-flying ECOMOG jets heading east toward the war zone along the coast.

Sawyer said his government faces debts of \$3 billion and has no resources. He therefore appealed to people of goodwill everywhere to help in his country's struggle. He called on Johnson and AFL General Bowen to respect the cease-fire and ensure that people live and work in peace. Bowen also presented the seal of state to Sawyer this afternoon and dissolved the interim National Defense Council, which was formed after the death of President Doe on September the 10th. [end recording]

Clergyman Makes Appeals To Stop Port Bombing
*AB2111202890 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 21 Nov 90*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The civil war in Liberia has continued with Charles Taylor's rebels shelling the Port of Monrovia in retaliation for ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] raids on the rebel-held Port of Buchanan. This afternoon, the Reverend Lloyd of Liberia's Red Cross, who is currently in Abidjan with hopes to go back to Liberia soon, called us up to make this appeal.

[Begin recording] [Lloyd] Well I am asking the ECOMOG force first of all to stop bombing the port and let there be an inflow of or transportation of food items and medical items because the bombing of the port has become a very difficult problem for ship owners to allow their ships to go into Liberia to carry relief supplies. Relief organizations that I have talked to since I have been in the Ivory Coast are all willing to send relief assistance to Liberia, but how?

[Bickerton] Are you also appealing to Charles Taylor to stop shelling Monrovia Port?

[Lloyd] Definitely, I am also appealing to Charles Taylor. I am sure he bombed the Port of Monrovia or he made the attempt to bomb the Port of Monrovia in retaliation to the bombing at the Port of Buchanan. I am sure he will try to pressurize and open the Port of Buchanan, but I am begging him also to kindly stop bombing the Port of Monrovia so that the other people on the side of Monrovia will also get their food supply and medical care. I am concerned about Liberians in total and I am also appealing to them to kindly come to some compromise so that the war in Liberia will end. The people who are dying are our people. The people from Ghana are not related to us. The people of Nigeria are not related to us. The people of Sierra Leone are not relatives even though we are all black Africans. But these people are our close relatives; they are our blood. Let us think about them. I am begging them to kindly exercise some restraint and let this war come to an end. [end recording]

Senegal

*** Casamance Rebels Said To Lack Food, Not Arms**
*91AF0147A Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
21-27 Sep 90 p 6*

[Unattributed article: "The Bear Is Still Alive"]

[Text] It is true that the almost certain death of Maurice Diatta, one of the harshest chiefs of the armed services, could have disastrous consequences for the morale of his soldiers. Despite unification of the command. The army is taking advantage of this situation and tightening the vice. It has lost men and for that reason is white hot, to the extent of wishing to fight it out to the end with the rebels. In this case, the *demagogic* (sic) positions of the politicians on all sides irritates them. Because in the reasoning of a soldier (more than with a civilian) "territorial integrity is not negotiable."

But will the rebels really run at the sound of the army's death knell? Stated otherwise, are the Casamance separatists a prey, a winded animal waiting, but not without a fierce resistance, for the Diego Boys (Diego is the affectionate surname the soldiers give General Dieng) to catch them in their wild flight, and deal them the final deathblow? About two months ago, official state media commentaries suggested that possibility. One must recognize that the rebels laid themselves open to the extent of lending credibility to those triumphant claims. In fact, at the time, their actions (attacks and holdups against travelers) made one think that the irredentists were exhausted. But without taking into account that massive arrests and resignations had previously decimated the ranks of the political branch of the MFDC [Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance].

The civilians had thus paid the price of the "exhaustion." And in response to what they called *the exactions and the cowardice*, General Amadou Abdoulaye Dieng, the military governor, openly defied the "Atika," suggesting they attack his boys, and not disarmed civilians. The message was understood by the men of the south for whom honor has but one meaning. Hence, the violent fights and ambushes of recent times in which the soldiers lost 16 men. The opposite fellows lost many of theirs, too: 36, according to sources close to the army.

Despite everything, attacks against civilians continue. Some are very daring ones, so daring that they give the impression the rebels intend to be killed. Otherwise how can one explain that they wander into the outside quarters of fortified Ziguinchor? In fact, on 9 September they attacked a shop in the neighborhood of Lyndiane before carrying off a shopkeeper's receipts and foodstuffs in a car. A man who met the assailants at the time of their

departure and who reportedly recognized a few of them, was shot down. A woman who reportedly identified them owed her life to the fact that she fled. A few days before the same action was carried out at Kande where business men were the rebels' victims.

If it is confirmed that this series of actions bears the signature of the armed separatists, one might believe they are short of foodstuffs and perhaps funds. But not arms, which means that nothing has been played out yet, and the bear, whose skin had already been sold at a discount, while it was to be spread out in the courtyard of the government [building], is still alive and killing people. There is no doubt that the army's pressure is currently very strong. But certain mistakes by the soldiers could trigger sympathetic reactions on the part of villagers for the rebels. With a very sharp sense of solidarity, the people could be tempted to give to the "Atika" what they seem to lack: foodstuffs.

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